1748

NARRATIVE,

of a five years' expedition, against the

Revolted Negroes of Surinam,

in GUIANA, on the WILD COAST of

SOUTH AMERICA;

from the year 1772, to 1777:

elucidating the History of that Country, and

445
T

describing its Productions, *Viz.*

Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots;

with an account of the INDIANS of Guiana, & NEGROES of Guinea.

By CAPTN. J. G. STEDMAN.

strated with 80 elegant Engravings, from drawings made by the Author.

VOL. I.

"O quantum terræ, quantum cognoscere cœli
Permissum est! pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!
Nunc forsan grave reris opus; sed læta recurret
Cum ratis, et carùm cum jam mihi reddet Iolcon;
Quis pudor heu! nostros tibi tunc audire labores!
Quam referam visas tua per suspiria gentes!"

Valerius Flaccus.

on. Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard, & J. Edwards, Pall Mall. 1796.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

GEORGE

PRINCE OF WALES,

THIS

ARTLESS NARRATIVE

IS,

WITH ALL HUMILITY,

INSCRIBED,

BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS's

MOST DEVOTED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

J. G. Stedman.

Tiverton, Devonſhire,
January 1, 1796.

Frontispiece.

Stedman Pinxt. Bartolozzi Sculpt.

"From different Parents, different Climes we came,
At different Periods;" Fate still rules the same.
Unhappy Youth while bleeding on the ground;
'Twas Yours to fall—but Mine to feel the wound.

London, Published Decr. 1st. 1794, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

THE

PREFACE.

THIS Work being perhaps one of the moſt ſingular productions ever offered to the Public, I think it right to give the Reader a ſhort ſketch of what he is going to peruſe.—I have endeavoured to arrange matters in ſome degree like a large garden, where one meets with the ſweet-ſmelling flower and the thorn, the gold-beſpangled fly and loathſome reptile, the richeſt glowing plumage and the darkeſt ſhades; the whole ſo variegated as to afford, I hope, both information and amuſement, without racking or depreſſing the ſpirits, and damping the mind; not indeed in the modern pomp and brilliancy of ſtyle, but in a ſimple tale, where TRUTH is the chief ornament.

 Here,

to which I refer the curious, will be found properly ſpelt the names of men and things.—Let it however not be underſtood, that I ever laid claim to excellence in writing or drawing; but if the plain and MANLY TRUTH, ſo often ſpoken of, and ſo ſeldom found, are of any avail—I preſume to hope, that theſe Volumes are not entirely unworthy the attention of a BRITISH Public.

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London, Published Decr. 2d 1793, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

T. Conder Sculpsit

NARRATIVE

OF AN

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.—*Revolt among the Negroes in Dutch Guiana—An Expedition sets out from the Texel—Short Account of the Voyage—The Fleet arrives in the River Surinam—Reception of the Troops in that Colony—Sketch of the Inhabitants, &c.*

THE exploring of foreign countries having of late years, and particularly since the recent discoveries of the immortal CAPTAIN COOK, so generally been the object of persons both in private and public situations; and the histories of their labours and pursuits being so interesting to the curiosity of the public, I have ventured to offer such observations as I have had an opportunity of making in a very singular part of the globe, on which few Englishmen have been thrown, either by accident, CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

or curiofity. The colony of *Surinam*, in Dutch *Guiana*, fo far as it is inhabited and cultivated by Europeans near the fea-coaft, has indeed been known for many years paft. But the deep inundations, with the impenetrable thicknefs of the woods, have been fuch conftant difcouragements and obftructions to difcovery, that but very little *true* information concerning that country has as yet been obtained, except what relates to fuch objects of commerce as are common to moft of the tropical fettlements. This publication, therefore, is chiefly intended to particularize fuch circumftances and events as the neceffity of penetrating into the interior parts of the country have enabled me to make, and forced on my obfervation.

The feeling part of my readers, I muft hope, will receive with fome indulgence a work proceeding from an officer, who, from his early youth, was debarred in acquiring perfection, either as a writer or a painter, by his military and maritime profeffion. I neverthelefs humbly flatter myfelf that whatever may be found wanting in ftyle and elegance, is in fome degree compenfated by that fidelity and correctnefs, which can alone be the work of a pen and pencil employed on the fpot. With refpect to a few quaint expreffions, and even oaths, as fpoken by common *foldiers*, *failors*, &c. that fometimes unavoidably occur in the narrative of this wonderful expedition, I muft humbly requeft the world not to be ftartled at them, not only becaufe the fhades of black and white

enliven the picture, but becaufe I am determined to write *truth* only, and expofe *vice* and *folly* in their native colours.—Come then, *my friends*—

> "Together let us beat this *ample field*,
> "Try what the open, what the covert yield;
> "The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
> "Of all who blindly creep, or fightlefs foar:
> "Eye *Nature's walks*, fhoot Folly as it flies,
> "And catch the manners living as they rife;
> "Laugh where we muft, be candid where we can;
> "But vindicate the ways of God to man."
>
> POPE.

I will now boldly launch out on the difficult tafk.—As the nature, however, of thefe tranfactions can only be underftood by a reference to the occafion which called me thither, I feel myfelf under the neceffity of ftill premifing a few words upon that fubject.

Every part of the world, where *domeftic flavery* is eftablifhed, may be occafionally liable to infurrection and difquiet, more efpecially where the flaves conftitute the majority of the inhabitants; but the colony of *Surinam*, in Dutch Guiana, has been peculiarly unfortunate in this refpect. Whether from the fhelter which is afforded to the fugitives by the immenfe forefts which overfpread the moft confiderable part of this country, or whether the government of this fettlement be radically defective, it is a certain fact, that its *European* fettlers

 are

CHAP. I. are conſtantly expoſed to the moſt violent ravages, and the moſt deſperate outrage. Of theſe circumſtances this is not however the place for a minute detail. Let it ſuffice therefore for the preſent, only to obſerve, that theſe repeated *revolts* and *inſurrections* demanded at length the moſt vigorous meaſures for the reſtoration of a general peace; and that the accounts tranſmitted to Holland, in the year 1772, that a conſiderable body of armed people of *this* deſcription had aſſembled in the foreſts, and became extremely formidable to the colony, determined their *High Mightineſſes* the STATES of the United Provinces to ſend out a ſufficient maritime force to oppoſe the inſurgents, and, if poſſible, to quell the inſurrection.

The *Britiſh navy* had ever been my choice and ambition, in which I was well recommended; but the ſmall hopes of preferment I had naturally to expect in time of peace, and my paternal eſtate being loſt juſt after my birth by accidental misfortunes, induced me to relinquiſh the hopes of advancement in the ſea ſervice, and to accept an enſign's commiſſion, preſented me without purchaſe, in one of the *Scots brigade* regiments in the pay of Holland, where Sir *Joſeph York* (late Lord Dover) at that period was ambaſſador from the Britiſh court; before which nobleman I had the honour to take the uſual oaths of abjuration and allegiance to my KING and COUNTRY, as regiſtered at the Britiſh war-office.— This point I have alſo thought it right to premiſe, as a duty

a duty owing to myſelf, to ſhew the world in general that it was neceſſity not choice that compelled me to enter into a *foreign* ſervice; though perhaps a more ancient and diſtinguiſhed corps does not exiſt than the above brigade has proved to be, both in this iſland and on the continent, for above two hundred years.

At the time of the above inſurrection I was Lieutenant in the Honourable General *John Stuart*'s regiment; when, impreſſed by the hopes of traverſing the ſea, my favourite element, and in ſome meaſure gratifying my curioſity, in exploring a part of the world not generally known; ſtill more by the proſpect of that preferment which might be conſequent on ſo dangerous an expedition; I inſtantly ſolicited admiſſion into a corps of volunteers which was preparing to ſail for Guiana, and had the honour, by his *Serene Highneſs* WILLIAM V. PRINCE OF ORANGE, to be advanced to the rank of Captain by brevet *, under Colonel *Louïs Henry Fourgeoud*, a Swiſs gentleman, from the Alpine Mountains, who was appointed our commander in chief.

Having taken the oaths of fidelity on the 12th of November to the new corps, and prepared what was neceſſary for the voyage, I bade farewell to my old regiment, and immediately ſailed to the iſland of *Texel*, where ſeveral of our gentlemen were already aſſembled;

* Each officer was permitted to re-enter his former regiment, if he ſurvived the expedition, and returned to Europe, a vacancy being there preſerved for him during his abſence.

CHAP. I. and where, on going aſhore, I had nearly periſhed by the boat's ſhipping a ſea, and ſinking in the ſurf.

The iſland of *Wieringen* was however the ſpot of general rendezvous: here Colonel Fourgeoud arriving on the 7th of December, the volunteers were all aſſembled, to the number of five hundred fine young men; and on the morning of the 8th we were formed into ſeven companies, and embodied as a regiment of marines. Beſides the *Boreas* and *Weſtellingwerf* men-of-war, commanded by Captains *Van de Velde* and *Craſs*, three new frigate-built tranſports were put in commiſſion, carrying enſign, jack, and pennant, and armed with from ten to ſixteen guns, as ſloops of war; on board theſe veſſels we embarked the ſame afternoon under a general ſalute, then took the command, and did the duty as in the navy.

Our departure was not however immediately conſequent on our embarkation. We lay wind-bound in the Texel roads for many days, during which time one of our young officers, a Mr. *Heſſeling*, was unfortunately ſeized with the ſmall-pox: this gentleman, in order to prevent his infecting the ſhip's company, was ordered on ſhore to a town on the land's end, called the *Helder*, where I conducted him in a pinnace, and where we left him behind us; but on my return, the ſurgeon declaring he ſaw the ſymptoms of the ſame diſorder on myſelf, I was alſo immediately ordered to the iſland of Texel. Having paſſed a moſt anxious quarantine in this place, I had the

the good fortune however to eſcape the loathſome malady, and to the Doctor's ſurprize appeared once more on board perfectly well, juſt before the ſignal gun was fired for the fleet to weigh anchor. This circumſtance cannot but induce me to wiſh that thoſe in particular who are deſtined for a military or a naval life would avail themſelves of the art of inoculation, in order to avoid a painful anxiety to themſelves, and a moſt dangerous infection to their fellow-creatures.

On Chriſtmas-day our ſmall fleet put to ſea, at eight o'clock, A. M. with a freſh breeze from E. N. E. in company with above one hundred veſſels bound for different parts of the globe, and the moſt beautiful clear weather. Having ſafely got without the ſoundings, and ſaluted each other with nine guns, we kept our courſe down channel, and ſoon paſſed the *North Foreland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, and *Portland Point*; but here the Weſtellingwerf, having ſprung a leak, was obliged to part company, and run into *Plymouth* for repair.

The wind now freſhened as we approached the *Bay of Biſcay*, where the mate of the veſſel directed my particular attention to a kind of ſea-ſwallow, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Storm-bird* *, from its ſuppoſed property of foretelling an impending tempeſt. The colour of this bird is a very deep blue approaching to black, and enlivened by ſome variegated tints; its ſize is about

* The *Stormy Petrel* of Pennant.

that

CHAP. I. that of a large martin or ſwallow; it is web-footed; the bill is very long and ſharp, and the wings of an extraordinary length, which enable it to fly very faſt, and for a conſiderable time, ſkimming with incredible velocity around the horizon: it ſubſiſts entirely upon fiſh, which is probably the cauſe of its being ſenſible of the firſt indications of whatever may prevent its uſual ſupply of food: it then flies along with extreme ſwiftneſs, in order to avoid the ſtorm; but if overtaken by it, drops its wings, and floats upon the ſurface of the waves.

On the following day, January 2d, 1773, the predictions of the ſtorm-bird were verified: a heavy gale ſprung up from N. N. E. by which, off *Cape Finiſterre*, the Boreas and Vigilance were ſeparated from us. We kept our courſe during the night with double reefed topſails, and all the hatches laid, which made our men in general very ſick. Here I ought not to forget that by way of experiment we had flung the hammocks *athwart* ſhips, and not as uſual fore and aft; which method we found however to be both ſo roomy and convenient, that it has been ſince adopted by ſeveral other veſſels.

On the morning of the 4th we ſpied a ſtout ſhip to windward in the offing, bearing ſtreight down upon us. Conjecturing ſhe might be an *Algerine pirate* from the African coaſt, and now but two ſhips out of five, we prepared to engage her; ſhe however ſoon proved to be the Boreas man-of-war, which had parted company on the 2d. From this date the men were daily exerciſed at

 the

the great guns, and by firing at a target ſuſpended from the yard-arm. CHAP. I.

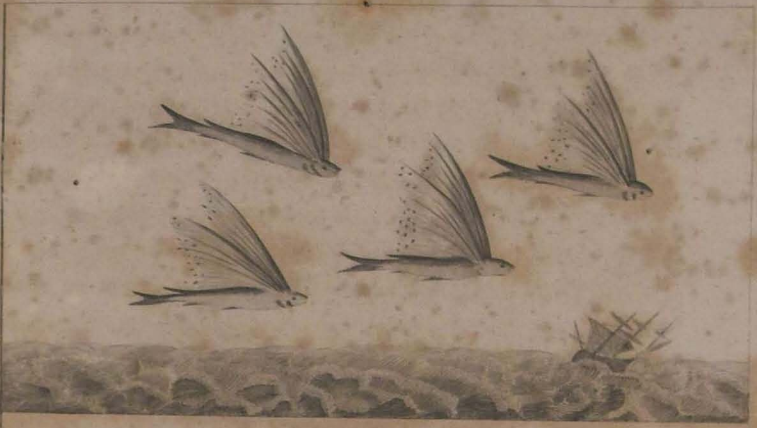
On the 14th, in the morning-watch, we paſſed the *Tropic*, when the uſual ceremony of ducking the freſh-water ſailors was ranſomed by tipping the foremaſt men with ſome ſilver. About this time the Boreas moſt unluckily loſt one of her beſt ſeamen, the boatſwain's mate, whoſe hand ſlipping by the wet, he pitched from the fore-yard-arm into the ſea. His preſence of mind in calling to the captain, as he floated alongſide, "*Be not alarmed for* "*me, ſir,*" in the confidence of meeting with relief, attracted peculiar compaſſion, and even cauſed ſome murmuring, as no aſſiſtance was offered him; in conſequence of which, after ſwimming a conſiderable time within view, the unfortunate young man went to the bottom.

We now were got in the tract of the *trade winds*, which blowing continually eaſt, and the weather becoming from day to day more temperate, made the voyage exceedingly pleaſant; more ſo by the many *dolphins* or *dorados*, which beautiful fiſh ſeem to take peculiar delight in ſporting around the veſſels. The *real* dolphin, which is of the cetaceous kind, was *anciently* celebrated in poetic ſtory on account of its philanthropy and other ſuppoſed virtues: but to the dorado or dolphin of the *moderns*, this character is far from being applicable, this fiſh being extremely voracious and deſtructive, and is known to follow the ſhips, and exhibit his ſports and gambols, not from attachment to mankind, but from the more ſelfiſh

CHAP. I. motive of procuring food, particularly on the eve of an approaching ſtorm, of which he appears perfectly ſenſible. The circumſtance which chiefly entitles the dorado to our attention is, the unrivalled and dazzling brilliancy of its colours in the water, the whole of its back being enamelled with ſpots between azure blue and a reflecting light ſea-green, on a very dark ground, which appears as beſpangled all over with jewels, and forms a moſt beautiful contraſt to the belly, which is of a whitiſh caſt; the fins and tail are of a golden dye: the length of this animal is from five to ſix feet, and its form tapers from the head towards the tail, which is divided, and terminates not unlike the ſhape of a creſcent. The head is round, and preceded by a kind of ſnout; the jaws are armed with ſeveral ſharp teeth, and the eyes are remarkably large. The ſcales of the dorado are uncommonly ſmall, and it is furniſhed with a fin, which runs along its back from the one extremity to the other.

Our progreſs was now daily marked by increaſing warm weather, which releaſed me from the confinement of a diſagreeable cabin crowded with officers, moſt of whom had never been to ſea, and enabled me to purſue my favourite amuſements, whether of reading above deck, or exerciſe in the rigging. Thus circumſtanced I, on the 17th, had the happineſs of rendering a moſt important ſervice to one of our young officers, a Mr. *du Moulin*, who by a ſudden roll of the veſſel was actually thrown over the gunwale; at that moment happening to ſtand

 without-



The Harangus Volans, or Flying Fish.

The Dorado, or Dolphin of the Moderns.

without-board in the main-chains, I fortunately grafped hold of him in his fall, which faved him, as he could not fwim, from inevitable death.

The entrance into warmer regions gave occafion to an obfervation perhaps not generally known, which (though uncouth) muft be of great importance to failors; namely, that between the Tropics, while vermin may remain in the head, none can poffibly continue to exift in the bedding, cloaths, linen, &c. Having humbly apologized for the above remark to my delicate readers, I will endeavour to defcribe a curious animal with which thefe feas abound, and which appears to fail on the furface of the waves with a fide-wind, while by the failors it is vulgarly called a Portuguefe man-of-war, and is probably either the *Nautilus* or the *Argonauta* of Linnæus. This wonderful creature, when above water, affumes the fhape of an expanded fan, decorated with a beautiful red border, while the lower extremity is fixed to a fhell as thin as paper, or rather a kind of boat, which is funk below or raifed above the furface of the fea, and guided in any direction, at the pleafure of the animal, by means of fix *tentacula* or limbs, which it ufes as oars. When thefe creatures are touched by the hand, they occafion, like the fea blubber or jelly fifh, a painful tinkling fenfation, which continues for feveral minutes.

The two following days it blew very frefh, and heavy feas wafhed over the veffel; during which, while helping to put a reef in the main-top-fail for a little exercife, I loft

CHAP. I. every one of my keys, which dropped from the yard-arm into the ſea. This trifling accident I ſhould never have related, had it not proved a very great inconvenience, by debarring me from coming at my private property, particularly ſince the whole ſhip's company, *officers* included, lived on *ſalt proviſion* alone, a pig and a couple of lean ſheep excepted, whoſe legs had been broken by the rolling and pitching of the veſſel. This manner of living on ſalt-beef, pork, and peas, like common ſailors, was introduced by our commander in chief, in order to enure us (he ſaid) to ſuch food as we were likely to be alone ſupplied with in the woods of Surinam; and from the *generous* motive of regaling his American friends with European refreſhments—ſuch as live ſheep, hogs, fowls, ducks, bacon hams, bullocks tongues, preſerved vegetables, pickles, ſpices, &c. all of which were provided by the town of Amſterdam in profuſion. But good intentions do not always meet with their rewards; ſince the *worms*, without any one's permiſſion, laid hold of the greateſt part of the dead ſtock for themſelves; who were, for a puniſhment, together with their plunder, thrown overboard into the ocean. Let me add, that inſtead of plate, our meals were frequently ſerved up in ſmall wooden tubs of not the moſt cleanly appearance, and only once a day; which negligence, however, I am willing to impute to *Monſieur Laurant*, the colonel's French valet-de-chambre. In ſhort, the ſcurvy and other loathſome diſorders began to make their appearance; dejection and low-ſpirits took place throughout the

 ſhip,

ſhip, while I complained *aloud*, and from that moment date the *good-will* which Colonel Fourgeoud manifeſted towards me in particular, as will be ſeen throughout the expedition. It is with pain that I relate this paſſage—but no conſideration ſhall prevent me from bringing to light particular foibles, as it will ever give me the greateſt pleaſure to render virtue conſpicuous.

About the 20th of January, we obſerved great numbers of flying fiſh, the *exocœtus volitans* of Linnæus, which is about the ſize of a herring. The back of this animal is flat, and of an olive-brown colour; the ſides and belly of a reſplendent ſilvery white; the mouth ſmall; the eyes large; the tail bifurcated; and the ſcales hard, ſmooth, and ſilvery. Upon occaſion the pectoral fins are uſed as wings by this fiſh, yet no longer than while they continue wet, for as ſoon as the moiſture is dried, the animal drops back into the ſea. The ſurface of theſe fins is of a golden hue, beautifully variegated near the edges with ſpots of azure blue: their length is equal to that of the body of the fiſh; and its flight, which is undertaken in order to avoid the purſuit of the dorado, and other large fiſh, is always ſtraight forward, and of ſhort duration, on account of the neceſſity of repeatedly wetting its wings*. Theſe animals are fre-

* I have never ſeen this neceſſity properly accounted for: probably the mucus which covers the fins or wings may become ſo conſolidated by the heat of the ſun, and the action of the air, that it may impede their motion; or it may be that the fiſh itſelf cannot endure to be long out of its proper element: either of theſe ſuppoſitions will account for its dropping ſo often as it were *involuntarily* on board ſhips, and into the mouth of its enemies, the dolphin, dorado, &c.

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quently found on board veffels, and fticking in the fhrouds, which is probably to be afcribed, not, according to the opinion of fome, to their feeking a refuge there from the attacks of fifh or fea-birds, but fimply to their flight being obftructed by an object, which, as they always fly in a direct line, they have not the power to avoid. The fate of this animal feems peculiarly fevere, at it is the prey both of the fcaly and feathered creation, and frequently meets its doom in that element to which but a moment before it had committed itfelf for protection.

Becoming extremely low-fpirited towards the clofe of our voyage, I now had recourfe to daily fea-bathing, and to a chearing glafs of claret, two ankers of which had been provided for each officer, independantly of his own ftock. Thefe means proved efficacious, and I found myfelf in a few days perfectly recovered from my complaint. On the 30th the weather became hazy, when the fhips brought-to and hove the lead in thirteen fathom foul water. The following day we paffed feveral large black rocks to windward, called *the Conftables*, and caft anchor near the *Euripice*, or *Devil's Iflands*, off the coaft of South America. The Euripice Iflands are fituated about twenty-four miles from the French fettlement of *Cayenne*, bearing N. N. W. in north latitude, five degrees twenty minutes, and confift of a ridge of fmall uninhabited and very dangerous rocks for fhipping. Here the current runs conftantly from the S. E. to the N. W. at the rate of fixty Englifh miles in twenty-four hours:

consequently every vessel which happens to pass the mouth of the river Surinam must make a considerable circuit in order to regain the possibility of entering that river. CHAP. I.

While we remained in this situation, we observed the *narwhal*, or sea-unicorn, and one or two large turtles, floating past the ship's side. The former of these is a large fish, and very distinguishable by a long spiral excrescence on its nose, like a tapering twisted rope. The one we saw at this time (though some are said to be forty or fifty) appeared but six or eight feet in length, and its horn about four, which weapon is dreadfully offensive to many fishes, especially to the whale; and when polished (either in hardness or whiteness) is considered not to be inferior to ivory. The narwhal, which is of the cetaceous kind, and consequently viviparous, is more frequently found in cold than warm climates. The female is said to be unprovided with that protuberance so remarkable in the male. It appears that some authors have confounded this animal with the *sword-fish*, to which however it does not prove to have the very smallest resemblance.

Another animal, which is called the *saw-fish*, carries also an offensive weapon. The projecting bone of this is three or four feet long, flat, and both sides armed with strong sharp-pointed spikes, which give it somewhat the form of a saw; this saw, which is covered over with the same rough, slimy, darkish-coloured skin that covers

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the whole animal, begins to ſpread itſelf near the eyes and thus continues ſpreading till it forms the head of a flattiſh triangular appearance, cloſe to which are the two pectoral fins. Above the eyes are two large holes, which I apprehend to be the organs of hearing, and not, as ſome ſuppoſe, intended by nature for the purpoſe of ſpouting water. Almoſt directly under them is the mouth, which is ſomething in the form of an half-moon, apparently without teeth, and between that and the under part of the ſpiked ſaw are the noſtrils. The body of the ſaw-fiſh is not much larger than the head, with two ſtrong dorſal fins, the one near the middle, the other near the tail, which is partly bifurcated, and raiſed perpendicular, the largeſt part upwards, without rays. The back is covered over with a dark ſlimy ſkin; the whole forming a very hideous appearance. This fiſh fights with the largeſt whales, till the ſea all around is died with blood, ſeldom quitting its adverſary till it has vanquiſhed and killed it. I have ſeen this monſter out of the water, and its whole length meaſured about fourteen feet.

The turtles are divided into two ſpecies, and are gen rally diſtinguiſhed in Surinam by the names of *calapee* green turtle, and *carett*. The former of theſe ſometim weighs four hundred pounds, and has a flattiſh ſhell; b the carett is inferior both in ſize and quality, except wi reſpect to its ſhell, which is more valuable, and of more convex form. Both the calapee and carett depo their eggs, which are very excellent food, in the ſand, where

View of the Constable Rocks, off Cayenne, from N. E.

The Saw Fish, & part of the Head reversed.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

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where they are hatched by the heat of the ſun. The manner of taking theſe animals is by turning them on their backs with a hand-ſpike when they are diſcovered on ſhore, and leaving them in this ſituation till a convenient opportunity occurs for carrying them away; for ſuch is the heavineſs of their ſtructure, or ſo languid are their powers, that they are utterly unable to turn themſelves, and effect the i eſcape. They are publickly expoſed to ſale by the butchers in Surinam, like the ſhambles meat in the European markets, and are eſteemed the moſt delicate food between the months of February and May.

On the morning of the 1ſt of February we now once more went under way, and kept courſe in ſhore till the evening, when we came to an anchor off the mouth of the river *Marawina*; this river has occaſioned the loſs of many ſhips, by ſeamen fatally miſtaking it for the river Surinam, to which its entry bears indeed a very great reſemblance. What renders the *firſt* ſo dangerous, are the numerous rocks, ſmall iſlands, and quick-ſands with which it is crouded; beſides its being ſo ſhallow at high-water mark (and even with ſpring-tides) that all ſhips of any conſiderable burthen immediately run a-ground, and go to pieces.

On the 2d, having got our anchor a-peak by day-break, we again ſet ſail, keeping courſe along the coaſt; when having doubled *Braam's Point* with a light breeze, under top and top-gallant ſails, we finally entered the beautiful river Surinam; and at three o'clock, P. M. dropped anchor before the new fortreſs called *Amſter-*

CHAP. I. *dam*; and here we were extremely happy to meet with our friends in the Vigilance, which veſſel (as I have mentioned) had parted company with us in a gale of wind on the 2d of January, off Cape Finiſterre, and arrived two days before us in this river.

Our ſhips crews now were in the higheſt flow of ſpirits, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded by the moſt delightful verdure, while the river ſeemed alive by the many boats and barges paſſing and re-paſſing to ſee us, while groups of naked boys and girls were promiſcuouſly playing and flouncing, like ſo many *Tritons* and *Mermaids*, in the water. The ſcene was new to all, and nothing was heard but muſic, ſinging, and cheering on deck, as well as in the rigging, from the ideas of happineſs which each individual now promiſed himſelf in this luxuriant flouriſhing ſpot, while between decks the heat was become inſupportable: but how miſerably theſe poor fellows were miſtaken in their reckoning ſhall ſoon be ſeen.

I muſt indeed acknowledge that nothing could equal the delicious ſenſations with which we ſeemed intoxicated by the fragrance of the lemons, limes, oranges, and flowers, wafted over from the adjoining plantations that line the banks of all the rivers in this ever-blooming ſettlement, and of which charming fruit, &c. large cluſters were ſent on board our ſhips by Colonel *de Porchera* of the colonial troops; this gentleman, being the commandant of Fort Amſterdam, alſo ſaluted the veſſels with nine guns from the batteries, while with an equal number we returned him the compli-

ment

Bartolozzi Sculp.

A Female Negro Slave, with a Weight chained to her Ancle.

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ment from the ſhips. A long-boat, with one of our captains, was afterwards diſpatched to Paramaribo, to announce to the governor the arrival of the troops in the colony. CHAP. I.

During our ſtay in this place the companies frequently walked on ſhore, and I accompanied them in their excurſions; but the pleaſure I had flattered myſelf with, from exchanging the confinement of a ſhip for the liberty of ranging over a delicious country, was damped by the firſt object which preſented itſelf after my landing. This was a young female ſlave, whoſe only covering was a rag tied round her loins, which, like her ſkin, was lacerated in ſeveral places by the ſtroke of the whip. The crime which had been committed by this miſerable victim of tyranny, was the non-performance of a taſk to which ſhe was apparently unequal, for which ſhe was ſentenced to receive two hundred laſhes, and to drag, during ſome months, a chain ſeveral yards in length, one end of which was locked round her ancle, and to the other was affixed a weight of at leaſt a hundred pounds. Strongly affected with this ſhocking circumſtance, I took a draft of the unhappy ſufferer, and retained a dreadful idea of the inhumanity of the planters towards theſe miſerable ſubjects to their power.

The graſs in this part of the country was very long and coarſe, and afforded a harbour to two ſpecies of very diſagreeable inſects, termed *Pattat* and *Scrapat* lice by the coloniſts, which ſettled on every part of our perſons.

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The former of theſe is ſo ſmall as to be ſcarcely viſible; the latter is ſomething larger, and formed like a crab, and both agree in adhering cloſely to the ſkin, and occaſioning an intolerable itching. Theſe inſects abound moſt during the rainy ſeaſon, when the beſt means of avoiding their attacks is ſuppoſed to be by walking barefoot, as they are believed to faſten more eaſily, and conſequently in greater numbers, upon the cloaths, whence however they very ſpeedily find their way to the ſkin. We did not get rid of our diſagreeable companions till our return to the ſhip, when we waſhed the affected parts with the juice of limes or lemons, which conſiderably alleviated our troubleſome ſenſations.

On the 3d of March we received a viſit from ſeveral officers of the Society, or Weſt India Company's troops, accompanied by a number of other gentlemen, to welcome our arrival in the colony. Nor were they ſatisfied with paying us merely a compliment in words, but regaled us with a large quantity of excellent fruits and other refreſhments. They came in very elegant barges or tent-boats, adorned with flags, and attended by ſmall bands of muſic. The veſſels were rowed by ſix or eight negroes, who were entirely without cloaths, except a ſmall ſtripe of check or other linen cloth, which was paſſed between their thighs, and faſtened before and behind to a thin cotton ſtring tied round their loins. As the coloniſts generally make choice of their handſomeſt ſlaves for this office, and to attend them at table, &c.

the rowers, who were healthy, young, and vigorous, looked extremely well, and their being naked gave us a full opportunity of obſerving their ſkin, which was ſhining, and nearly as black as ebony. This ſcene was however contraſted by the arrival of two canoes filled with emaciated ſtarving wretches, who clamorouſly ſolicited relief from the ſoldiers, and were ready to fight for the poſſeſſion of a bone.

The day following our Commander in Chief was viſited by a Mr. Rynſdorp, who introduced to him two *black ſoldiers*, manumized ſlaves, who compoſed part of a corps of three hundred which had been lately formed. Theſe men were exhibited by Mr. Rynſdorp as ſpecimens of that valiant body, which but a ſhort time before had moſt gallantly diſtinguiſhed itſelf by the protection it had afforded to the colony.

Whilſt we ſtill remained at anchor before the fortreſs Amſterdam, I received a polite invitation from one Mr. *Lolkens*, a planter, to whom I had been recommended, to accept the uſe of his houſe and table on our arrival at Paramaribo, the capital of the colony.

On the 8th we once more went under way, and after the uſual ceremonies on both ſides on leaving the fortreſs, ſail'd up the river Surinam with drums beating, colours flying, and a guard of marines drawn up on the quarter-deck of each veſſel. Having at length reached Paramaribo, we finally came to an anchor within piſtol-ſhot off the ſhore, receiving a ſalute of eleven guns from the citadel Zealandia, which was returned by all the ſhips of our ſmall fleet.

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After being confined nearly the whole of sixty-three days within the limits of a small vessel, and upon an element to which few of the troops had been accustomed, it would not be easy to describe the pleasure we experienced on finding ourselves once more on land, and surrounded by a thousand agreeable circumstances.

The town appeared uncommonly neat and pleasing, the shipping extremely beautiful, the adjacent woods adorned with the most luxuriant verdure, the air perfumed with the utmost fragrance, and the whole scene gilded by the rays of an unclouded sun. We did not however take leave of our wooden habitation at this time, but the next day were formally disembarked with a general appearance of rejoicing; all the ships in the roads being in full dress, and the guns keeping up an incessant fire till the whole of the troops were landed.

All the inhabitants of Paramaribo were collected to behold this splendid scene, nor were the expectations they had formed disappointed. The corps consisted of nearly five hundred young men; (for we had been so fortunate as only to lose one during the voyage) the oldest of whom was scarcely more than thirty, and the whole party neatly cloathed in their new uniforms, and in caps ornamented with twigs of orange-blossom. We paraded on a large green plain between the town and the citadel, opposite to the Governor's palace; during the course of which ceremonies several soldiers fainted from the excessive heat. The troops then marched into quarters prepared for their reception, whilst the officers were regaled with a dinner by the Governor, which would have derived a considerable

CHAP. I.

conſiderable reliſh from its ſucceeding the ſalt proviſions, to which we had ſo long been confined, had any contraſt been neceſſary to heighten our opinion of its elegance. But the choiceſt delicacies of America and Europe were united in this repaſt, and ſerved up in ſilver. A great variety of the richeſt wines were poured out with profuſion; the deſert was compoſed of the moſt delicious fruits, and the company were attended by a conſiderable number of extremely handſome negro and mulatto maids, all naked from the waiſt upwards, according to the cuſtom of the country; but the other parts of their perſons arrayed in the fineſt India chintzes, and the whole adorned with golden chains, medals, beads, bracelets, and ſweet-ſmelling flowers.

After partaking of this ſuperb entertainment till about ſeven o'clock, I ſet out in ſearch of the houſe of Mr. Lolkens, the hoſpitable gentleman who had ſo obligingly invited me to make it my own. I ſoon diſcovered the place, but my reception was ſo ludicrous that I cannot forbear relating the particulars. On knocking at the door, it was opened by a young female negro, of a maſculine appearance, whoſe whole dreſs conſiſted of a ſingle petticoat, and who held a lighted tobacco-pipe in one hand, and a burning candle in the other, which ſhe brought cloſe to my face, in order to reconnoitre me. I enquired if her maſter was at home, to which ſhe replied, but in a language totally unintelligible to me. I then mentioned his name, on which ſhe burſt into an immoderate fit of laughter,

CHAP. I. displaying two rows of very beautiful teeth; and at the same time, laying hold of the breast-buttons of my coat, she made me a signal to follow her. I was much at a loss how to act, but went in, and was ushered by the girl into a very neat apartment, whither she brought some excellent fruit, and a bottle of Madeira wine, which she placed upon the table. She then, in the best manner she was able, informed me that her *masera*, with the rest of his family, was gone to spend a few days at his plantation, and that she was left behind to receive an English Captain, whom she supposed to be me. I signified that I was, and filled her out a tumbler of wine, which I had the utmost difficulty to persuade her to accept; for such is the degrading light in which these unhappy beings are considered, that it is accounted a high degree of presumption in them to eat or drink in the presence of an European. I contrived for some time to carry on something like a conversation with this woman, but was soon glad to put an end to it by recurring to my bottle.

Tired with the employments of the day, I longed for some rest, and made a signal to my attendant that I wanted to sleep: but my motion was strangely misconstrued; for she immediately seized me by the neck, and imprinted on my lips a most ardent kiss. Heartily provoked at this unexpected, and (from one of her colour) unwelcome salutation, I disentangled myself from her embraces, and angrily flung into the apartment allotted

for

for my place of reſt. But here I was again purſued by my black tormentor, who, in oppoſition to all I could ſay, inſiſted upon pulling off my ſhoes and ſtockings, and in a moment diſencumbered me of that part of my apparel. I was extremely chagrined at her conduct, though this is an office commonly performed by the ſlaves in Surinam to all ranks and ſexes without exception. Nor ought any one to conceive that this apparently extraordinary conduct reſulted from any peculiarity of diſpoſition in the girl; her behaviour was only ſuch as would have been practiſed by the generality of female negro ſlaves, and what will be found, by all who viſit the Weſt India ſettlements, to be characteriſtic of the whole dark ſiſterhood. CHAP. I.

Finding in the morning that my friend the planter was not returned, I took leave of his manſion, and very hoſpitable ſervant; and after viſiting the ſoldiers in their new abodes, was conducted by the quarter-maſter to a neat habitation appropriated to my uſe. I found the houſe entirely unfurniſhed, though not deſtitute of inhabitants; for, leaving my Captain's commiſſion, which was of parchment, in the window, the firſt night, I had the mortification to find in the morning that it was devoured by the rats.

Having taken poſſeſſion of my habitation, my next wiſh was to furniſh it properly; but all cares of this nature were rendered unneceſſary by the generous hoſpitality of the inhabitants; the ladies ſupplied me with tables, chairs,

glaſſes,

CHAP. I. glasses, and even plate and china, in great abundance; and the gentlemen loaded me with presents of Madeira wine, porter, cyder, rum and sugar, besides a quantity of the most exquisite fruits. Amongst the latter I was particularly struck with the shaddock and awara; the former of these, which is of a very agreeable flavour, between a sweet and an acid, is produced from a tree supposed to be transplanted from the coast of Guinea *, by a Captain Shaddock, whose name it still retains throughout the English West India islands, but is called pompelmoose in Surinam. This fruit appears to be of the orange species, but is as large as the head of a child of eight or ten years old; the skin is extremely thick, of a bitterish taste, and a pale yellow or citron colour. There are two species of the shaddock, of which the pulp of the one is white, and that of the other a beautiful pale red, which may be safely eaten in considerable quantities: indeed it is esteemed by the natives, who are in general remarkably fond of it, as very salubrious.

The *awara*, or avoira, which is less remarkable for the excellence of its flavour than its beautiful appearance, grows upon a species of palm-tree, and is of an oval form, about the size of an Orlean plumb, and of a rich deep orange colour, nearly approaching to red. It is much esteemed by the negroes, who exercise their in-

* ——— Exotic of Cerean dye,
Sweet acid offspring of an injur'd sky;
O Shaddock! like thy country, captive led,
And doom'd to grace the board her children spread.

genuity

The Fruit called Avoira.

The Shaddock Apple.

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genuity in forming rings out of the ſtones, which they decorate with cyphers, initial letters, and other devices, then diſpoſe of them to the Europeans, who mount them in gold. Theſe ſtones are large, extremely hard, and as black as jet or ebony, but the pulp which ſurrounds them is very thin.

This day, on examining into the ſtate of our remaining live ſtock, ſuch as hogs, ſheep, ducks, geeſe, fowls, and turkies, we found them nearly as many in number as when we firſt ſailed from Holland: theſe were all ſent to the colonel's poultry-yard at the head-quarters, while we had the additional mortification of ſeeing above ſixty large kegs with preſerved vegetables, &c. and juſt as many fine Weſtphalia hams (being perfectly rotten) thrown into the river Surinam to feed the ſharks.

I now obſerved, on the ſecond morning after our landing, that my face, my breaſt, and hands were entirely ſpotted over like the ſkin of a leopard, occaſioned by myriads of *gnats* or *muſquitoes*, which flying in clouds, had kept me company during the night, though the fatigue from my voyage, and the oppreſſive heat of the climate, had ſunk me into ſo profound a ſleep, that I was inſenſible of their ſtings, till I perceived the effects. Theſe inſects are inconceivably numerous here during the rainy ſeaſon, and particularly on the banks of creeks or rivers. None are ſecured from their attacks, but they peculiarly infeſt ſtrangers in preference to the natives; and wherever they inſert their proboſcis, and re-

CHAP. I. main unmolefted, they fuck the blood till they are fcarcely able to fly. Every puncture they make is fucceeded by a large blotch, or rather tumour, accompanied with an itching, which is almoft intolerable. The prefence of the mufquitoes is indicated by their buzzing noife, which alone is fufficient to make one fweat, and which is fo very difagreeable to thofe who have fuffered from their ftings, as to have obtained for them the name of the *Devil's Trumpeters*. They are indeed inconceivably troublefome in every refpect. The candles are no fooner lighted in an evening, than they are ftuck full of them; all kinds of food and drink are expofed to their difagreeable vifits, from which even the mouth and eyes are not exempted.

The beft cure for their ftings is an application of the juice of lemons or limes, mixed with water, which is alfo a tolerable prefervative againft their attacks. Immediately before fhutting the windows, the inhabitants commonly burn tobacco in their apartments, the fmoke of which occafions the infects to fly about the room, when the negro girls unrefervedly throw off their petticoats, which is the whole of their covering, and running naked about the chamber, chafe the gnats therewith out at the windows, or deftroy them. The more delicate or luxurious amongft the natives ftill employ their flaves in fanning them during the whole night, excepting fuch as have green gauze doors to their beds or pavilions; but the generality of the people in Surinam fleep in roomy

cotton

cotton hammocks, which are covered with a very large thin ſheet, ſuſpended from a tight line immediately over them, ſomething like the awning of a ſhip, which ſerves in ſome meaſure to keep off theſe troubleſome inſects, and the want of which had expoſed me to be thus ſtung all over. CHAP. I.

There are alſo in Surinam a ſtill larger ſpecies of gnats or muſquitoes, called *mawkers*, the ſtings of which are extremely painful indeed; but as they are much leſs numerous than the former, they are not nearly ſo troubleſome to the inhabitants, and are conſequently leſs remarked.——But to proceed:

On the morning of the 22d, an elderly negro-woman, with a black girl about fourteen, entering my apartment, it would be difficult to expreſs my aſtoniſhment when ſhe gravely preſented me her daughter, to become what ſhe was pleaſed to term my wife. I had ſo little gallantry, however, as to reject the offer with a loud laugh; but at the ſame time accompanied the refuſal with a ſmall but welcome preſent, with which they appeared perfectly ſatisfied, and departed with every poſſible demonſtration of gratitude and reſpect. The girls here, who voluntarily enter into theſe connections, are ſometimes mulattoes, ſometimes Indians, and often negroes. They all exult in the circumſtance of living with an European, whom in general they ſerve with the utmoſt tenderneſs and fidelity, and tacitly reprove thoſe numerous *fair-ones* who break through ties more ſacred

[library stamp]

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and ſolemn. Young women of this deſcription cannot indeed be married, or connected in any other way, as moſt of them are born or trained up in a ſtate of ſlavery; and ſo little is the practice condemned, that while they continue faithful and conſtant to the partner by whom they are choſen, they are countenanced and encouraged by their neareſt relations and friends, who call this a lawful marriage, nay, even the clergy avail themſelves of this cuſtom without reſtraint; witneſs the Rev. Mr. S—dh—s, Mr. T—ll—t, &c. Many of the ſable-coloured beauties will however follow their own *penchant* without any reſtraint whatever, refuſing with contempt the golden bribes of ſome, while on others they beſtow their favours for a dram or a broken tobacco-pipe, if not for nothing.

The hoſpitality I had experienced on our firſt arrival in the colony was not confined to that time only: I had a general invitation to viſit, beſides his excellency the *governor*, and Colonel *Texier*, the commandant, in more than twenty reſpectable families, whenever it ſuited my convenience; ſo that, though the officers of our corps had formed a regimental meſs, I had ſeldom the honour of their company. One gentleman, a Mr. *Kennedy*, in particular, carried his politeneſs ſo far, as not only to offer me the uſe of his carriage, ſaddle-horſes, and table, but even to preſent me with a fine negro boy, named *Quaco*, to carry my umbrella as long as I remained in Surinam. The other gentlemen of the regiment alſo

met

met with great civilities, and the whole colony ſeemed anxious to teſtify their reſpect, by vying with each other in a conſtant round of feſtivity. Balls, concerts, card-aſſemblies, and every ſpecies of amuſement in their power, were conſtantly contrived for our entertainment. The ſpirit of conviviality next reached on board the men-of-war, where we entertained the ladies with cold ſuppers and dancing upon the quarter-deck, under an awning, till ſix in the morning, generally concluding the frolic by a cavalcade, or an airing in their carriages. This conſtant routine of diſſipation, which was rendered ſtill more pernicious by the enervating effects of an intenſely hot climate, where one is in a perpetual ſtate of perſpiration, already threatened to become *fatal* to two or three of our officers. Warned by their example, I retired from all public companies, ſenſible that by ſuch means I could alone preſerve my health, in a country which has ſuch a tendency to debilitate the human frame, that an European, however cautious to avoid exceſſes, has always reaſon to apprehend its dreadful effects.

Diſſipation and luxury appear to be congenial to the inhabitants of this climate, and great numbers muſt annually fall victims to their very deſtructive influence. Their fatal conſequences are indeed too viſible in the men, who have indulged themſelves in intemperance and other ſenſual gratifications, and who appear withered and enervated in the extreme; nor do the generality of

CHAP. I. the Creole females exhibit a more alluring appearance; they are languid, their complexions are fallow, and the fkin even of the young ladies is frequently fhrivelled. This is however not the cafe with all; and I have been acquainted with fome who, preferving a glow of health and frefhnefs in their lovely countenance, were entitled to contend for the prize of beauty with the faireft European. But, alas! the numbers of this laft defcription are fo fmall, that the colonifts in their amours moft ufually prefer the Indian negro and mulatto girls, particularly on account of their remarkable cleanlinefs, health, and vivacity. For the exceffes of the hufbands in this refpect, and the marked neglect which they meet from them, the Creole ladies moft commonly, at a very early period, appear in mourning weeds, with the agreeable privilege however of making another choice, in the hopes of a better partner; nor are they long without another mate. Such indeed is the fuperior longevity of the fair females of Surinam, compared to that of the males (owing chiefly, as I faid, to their exceffes of all forts) that I have frequently known wives who have buried four hufbands, but never met a man in this country who had furvived two wives.

The ladies do not, however, always bear with the moft becoming patience the flights and infults they thus meet with, in the expectation of a fudden releafe, but moftly perfecute their fuccefsful fable rivals (even on fufpicion) with implacable hatred and the moft unrelent-

ing

ing barbarity; while they chaſtiſe their partners not only with a ſhew of ineffable contempt, but with giving in public the moſt unequivocal marks of preference towards thoſe gentlemen who newly arrive from Europe; which occaſioned the trite proverb and obſervation in the colony, that the Tropical ladies and the muſquitoes have an inſtinctive preference for a newly-landed European: this partiality is indeed ſo very extreme, and the proofs of it ſo very apparent and nauſeous, that ſome command of temper is neceſſary to prevent the diſguſt which ſuch behaviour muſt naturally excite, particularly where the object is not very inviting; nay, it was even publicly reported at Paramaribo, that two of theſe *Tropical Amazons* had fought a *duel* for the ſake of one of our officers.

I muſt now mention a word or two of the Governor and Colonel Fourgeoud; when I will endeavour to put an end to this long chapter: for, notwithſtanding the polite reception our whole corps had met with ever ſince we firſt landed in the colony, it was evident to perceive that mutual coolneſs which ſubſiſted between him and our commander in chief, who indeed gave the firſt public cauſe of animoſity, on the very day of our debarkation, by drawing up his regiment with their backs toward the governor's palace.

It is eaſy to conceive that the diſguſt which ſo early and ſo reciprocally manifeſted itſelf between the above two gentlemen, who were both of them our commanders,

 but

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but totally independent of each other, could not but make our ſtay at Paramaribo extremely diſagreeable to all the officers in our regiment, as well as thoſe of the Society corps: the conſequence of which was, that having reſided but a few weeks in the colony, it was thought proper by the governor to acquaint Colonel Fourgeoud, that, "as the rebel negroes ſeemed no further diſpoſed "to diſturb the tranquillity of the ſettlement, its own "troops, and the corps of black rangers, were deemed "ſufficient for its defence; in conſequence of which, "Colonel Fourgeoud, with his marines, no longer being "wanted, was at liberty to return to Europe whenever he "thought proper."

Various were the feelings of pleaſure and reluctance with which our gentlemen received this news: preparations were, however, made for our departure; but in a few days theſe were again ſuſpended by the inhabitants, who clamorouſly inſiſted on our ſtaying; when the wooding and watering the veſſels was proviſionally ſtopped, but the ſhips ſtill kept in commiſſion on ſpeculation. It was during this interval of leiſure and uncertainty that I ſeriouſly thought of employing myſelf in writing a ſhort hiſtory of the colony, and of drawing ſuch objects as I thought moſt ſuitable to compleat my little plan. In theſe deſigns, beſides conſulting the beſt authors on the ſubject, I had the honour to be materially aſſiſted by his excellency the governor, who not only favoured me with ſeveral manuſcripts, but daily furniſhed me with ſuch a

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of animals, ſhrubs, &c. as I was deſirous of being acquainted with :—thus, independant of that coolneſs which was ſo evident between theſe two veteran officers, I made it my earneſt ſtudy and endeavour, if poſſible, to keep friends with both parties; and, independant of that duty which I owed Colonel Fourgeoud, as my commander in chief, to treat the governor of the colony with that reſpect which I thought was due to his dignity, his rank, and his conduct; and in which motive (though not by all) I was ſteadily ſupported by the moſt reſpectable officers in the corps.

I will now endeavour to fulfil the taſk I have undertaken; and commence with a general deſcription of this WONDERFUL COUNTRY.

CHAP. II.

General Defcription of Guiana—of the Colony of Surinam in particular—Accounts of its earlieft Difcovery—is poffeffed by the Englifh—by the Dutch—Murder of the Governor, Lord Somelfdyk—The Settlement taken by the French, and ranfomed.

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THE difcovery of *Guiana*, by fome called "the Wild "Coaft," has been long (though with uncertainty) attributed to the Spanifh commander *Vafco Nunes*, who, in the year 1504, after difcovering Cuba to be an ifland, landed on the continent of South America, penetrated as far as between the rivers *Oroonoko* and *Amazon*, and comprehended that country in the extenfive tract of land, to which, in contradiction to Cuba and the adjacent iflands, he gave the name of TERRA FIRMA.

This country, the length of which is about 1220, and the breadth about 680 geographical miles, is fituated between eight degrees twenty minutes north, and three degrees fouth latitude, and between fifty and feventy degrees twenty minutes weft longitude from the meridian of London, in the N. E. part of South America. Its boundaries are marked by the rivers Viapary or *Oroonoko* on the N. W. and by the Maranon or river *Amazon* on the S. E.—The N. E. is wafhed by the *Atlantic Ocean*; and the *river Negris*, or Black river, terminates its extent on the S. W. which form it into a kind of ifland, and feparate it from *New Grenada*, *Peru*, and the *Brazils*.

Though fituated, like *Guinea*, under the Torrid Zone,

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the heats in Guiana are much more ſupportable than thoſe on that part of the African coaſt. The ſcorching rays of the ſun are in Guiana daily tempered by cooling breezes from the ſea; while in Guinea the intenſe heat is increaſed by the wind blowing continually over the land, and in its paſſage traverſing numerous ſandy deſarts. The eaſterly or trade winds, which generally blow between the Tropics, are extremely refreſhing to the coaſt of Guiana, between the hours of eight or ten in the morning, and ſix o'clock in the evening, when they ceaſe to operate, and a zephyr is ſcarcely ever heard to whiſper during the night. Theſe winds are ſucceeded by thick fogs, and vapours exhaled from the earth, which render the nights in this country not only very chilly, but extremely damp and unhealthy. The length of the days and nights in Guiana never varies much more than forty minutes during the courſe of the year, as the ſun always riſes about ſix in the morning, and ſets at the ſame hour in the evening.

The rainy and dry ſeaſons which divide the year, as cold and warm weather divide it in Europe, may be termed the winter and ſummer of this country. There is however one remarkable difference between the European ſeaſons and thoſe in Guiana, which is, that Guiana has annually two winters and two ſummers, which are diſtinguiſhed from each other by the appellation of the *greater* and the *ſmaller*, not becauſe the rains are leſs violent in the two latter ſeaſons, or the heat leſs intenſe, but from an opinion which has prevailed, that their period of duration is but about half as long as that of the

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former. This diſtinction however appears to be more imaginary than real, as far as reſpects the rainy ſeaſons; for as theſe downfalls of water only take place when the ſun is vertical, which it is near the line twice a year, and for an equal portion of time, the continuance of the rains will probably be equal in both ſeaſons.

The difference between the dry ſeaſons indeed may be accounted for from the greater commencing in Surinam at the time when the ſun is about to croſs the equator in its courſe to the tropic of *Capricorn*, often in October, when a continual drought and ſcorching heat begin to take place, till its return in March. This is ſucceeded by violent uninterrupted rains till June, during which time the ſun has travelled to the tropic of *Cancer*, and a ſhort ſeaſon of parching heat again takes place, till about July, which is once more followed by inceſſant rains till October, and thus the revolution of the different ſeaſons is completed *.

The continuance of the rains during the time when the ſun is vertical in this climate, is neceſſary to the exiſtence of animal and vegetable life, which without theſe ſeaſonable refreſhments muſt languiſh and expire under the fervid influence of its rays. But though I have mentioned ſtated periods for the variations of the

* I cannot but notice in this place a ſtrange error, into which Mr. Guthrie has inadvertently fallen, in dating the commencement of the dry ſeaſon at the north tropic, from the time when the ſun is vertical at the tropic of Capricorn; and deſcribing it as continuing till the ſun is again vertical at Cancer, from the beginning of January to the latter end of May.

ſeaſons in Guiana, yet it is neceſſary to remark that theſe changes are not uniformly produced at the ſame time, but, like the European ſeaſons, occaſionally vary. The changes are always accompanied by tremendous claps of thunder, and very vivid flaſhes of lightning, which continue during ſeveral weeks, and are frequently fatal both to the cattle and inhabitants of this country.

Some parts of Guiana preſent a barren and mountainous aſpect, but in general the ſoil is abundantly fruitful, the earth during the whole of the year adorned with continual verdure, the trees loaded at the ſame time with bloſſoms and ripe fruit, and the whole preſenting to the view the delightful union of ſpring and ſummer. This general appearance of fertility, particularly in Surinam, may be aſcribed not only to the rains and warmth in this climate, but alſo to its low and marſhy ſituation, which prevents the intenſe heats from deſtroying vegetation, and from the extreme richneſs the ſoil, particularly in thoſe parts which are cultivated by European induſtry. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that ſuch ſituations are far from being favourable to health; but the ſpirit of gain is a very powerful principle, and the certainty of preſent profit will generally be conſidered as a weighty counterpoiſe to thoſe evils which, if ever encountered, appear at a conſiderable diſtance; and as they are ſometimes eſcaped, may be always eſteemed as uncertain.

The uncultivated parts of Guiana are covered with immenſe

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immenſe foreſts, rocks, and mountains; ſome of the latter enriched with a great variety of mineral ſubſtances; and the whole country is interſected by very deep marſhes or ſwamps, and by extenſive heaths or ſavannas. The ſtream along the coaſt flows continually towards the north-weſt; and the whole ſhore is rendered almoſt inacceſſible from its being covered with dangerous banks, quickſands, bogs, and rocks, with prodigious buſhes, and a large quantity of bruſhwood, which are ſo cloſely interwoven as to be impenetrable.

The Spaniſh, Portugueze, and Dutch, are the only nations which poſſeſs ſettlements in this part of Terra Firma, excepting the ſmall colony of Cayenne, belonging to the French, which is ſituated between the river Marawina and Cape Orange. The dominions in Guiana, ſubject to Spain, are ſituated on the banks of the Oronoque, and thoſe of Portugal extend along the ſhores of the river Amazon. The Dutch ſettlements, which ſpread along the coaſts of the Atlantic ocean, and reach from Cape Naſſau to the river Marawina, are Eſſequibo, Demerary, Berbice, and Surinam *; the laſt of which is the moſt extenſive and valuable, and that portion of the Dutch poſſeſſions to which the ſucceeding account will be chiefly confined. This induſtrious nation endeavoured, in the year 1657, to eſtabliſh a ſmall colony on the banks of the river Poumeron, but in 1666 this ſettlement

* See the Map prefixed to this work.

was

was demolifhed by the Englifh. Nor were they more fuccefsful in one which they founded in 1677, on the river Wiapoko or Oyapoa, which was immediately invaded and deftroyed by the French.

The Dutch confider the beautiful and once flourifhing colony of Surinam as extending over the whole of that territory which is encircled on the weft by the river Kanre or Cange, about forty miles from the Corantine, and on the eaft by the river Sinamaree. But thefe limits are difputed by the French, who confine the boundary of Surinam to the banks of the Marawina, upon which they ftation a military force.

The principal rivers that belong to this fettlement are the river Surinam, from which the colony takes its name, the Corantine, the Copename, the Seramica, and the Marawina. Of thofe rivers the firft only is navigable, the reft, not excepting the Marawina, being, though very long and broad, fo fhallow, and fo extremely crouded with rocks and fmall iflands, that they are of little confequence to Europeans, nor are their banks inhabited except by fome of the Indians or natives of the country. The river Surinam, whofe mouth is fituated in about fix degrees north latitude, is, at its entrance, nearly the breadth of four Englifh miles, and in depth from fixteen to eighteen feet at low-water mark, the tide rifing and falling above twelve feet; this breadth and depth is continued from its mouth upwards to the diftance of eight or ten miles, when it divides itfelf into

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two branches, winding to the S. S. E. for the length of upwards of 120 miles. All this extent is navigable for ſmall craft, but beyond this diſtance the river proceeds directly ſouth; ſometimes in its courſe ſurrounding ſmall iſlands, and ſometimes forming ſmall cataracts. The ſource of this beautiful river has never yet been diſcovered by Europeans. All large veſſels, after entering the Surinam, ought to keep rather near the eaſt ſhore; the oppoſite ſide being very full of ſhoals, as far as the town of Paramaribo, which is about eighteen miles from its mouth. The other branch, into which this large river is divided, is named Comawina, and keeps due eaſt for about ſixteen miles, with a depth of about three or four fathom at high-water mark; but as the tide makes a difference of twelve feet, it is not conſidered as navigable for any ſhips of burthen, though its breadth may be computed at about two miles. At the diſtance of ſixteen miles, the river Comawina is again divided into two branches, one of which bears the ſame name to the S. E. for a length of above fifty miles, and that of Cottica to the E. S. E. for more than forty miles, when this laſt takes a meandring courſe to the S. S. W. for the diſtance of twenty-four or thirty miles. Into all theſe rivers, the courſes of which are not ſtraight but ſerpentine, are diſcharged a number of very large creeks or rivulets, the banks of which are inhabited by Europeans, and cultivated with ſugar, cocoa, cotton, and indigo plantations, which form the moſt delightful proſpects that

can

can be imagined to thofe who travel by water, the univerfal mode of journeying in this country, as the foil is in general ill adapted for the conftruction of roads; and in fome places the woods, &c. are abfolutely impenetrable, a fmall path of communication between Paramaribo and the river Seramica being the only paffable road that I know of in the fettlement. The rivers whofe banks are uncultivated, fuch as the Corantine, Copename, Seramica, and Marawina, afford but little matter for defcription: it is therefore only neceffary to remark, that they are generally from two to four miles in breadth, exceedingly fhallow, and crowded with quickfands, fmall iflands, and rocks, which form a number of beautiful cafcades. In the river Marawina is frequently found a curious ftone or pebble, which is known by the name of the Marawina diamond, and which being polifhed, bears a very near refemblance to that moft valuable gem, and is confequently often fet in rings, &c. &c. In all the above rivers, without exception, the water rifes and falls for more than fixty miles from the mouth, occafioned by the ftoppage of the frefhes by the tide; yet frefh water may generally be met with about twenty-four or thirty miles from the mouths of thefe rivers for watering the fhips. The water of the river Surinam is accounted the moft excellent, and is brought by the failors from as far as the Jew Savannah, which is above forty miles from the town of Paramaribo. The circumftance

moft

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moſt injurious to ſhips in theſe rivers is, that their bottoms are often affected by a kind of water-worm, the ravages of which are the moſt effectually prevented by frequently careening the veſſels, in order that they may be properly cleaned, ſcraped, caulked, and payed. For that purpoſe the coal-tar, invented by the Earl of Dundonald, (for which a patent of twelve years was granted to him) is greatly preferable to any other material which can be applied for this uſe.

It is high or low water nearly every ſix hours and half; the ſpring tides riſe regularly twice a month, when the river ſwells to a conſiderable degree, which, from various circumſtances, is often of infinite benefit to the planters.

It may be perhaps expected, in this place, that I ſhould add a few words concerning the defence of the above rivers, though that is a ſubject which I purpoſe to treat more at large on another occaſion. On the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the river Surinam is a ſmall promontory, called Braam's Point, which I think originally had been named Pram's, or Parham's Point, after Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, to whom this ſettlement was granted by King Charles the Second in 1662, and which ſpot is ſuppoſed to be the firſt on which Lord Willoughby landed in 1652, ten years before he obtained the charter from his ſovereign. This point is not fortified; but about eight miles upwards are two redoubts,

redoubts, one on each ſide of the river, called Leyden and Purmerent, and a little higher up is the new fortreſs called Amſterdam, built on the point of land which ſeparates the two rivers, Surinam and Comewina, from each other; and whoſe fire, croſſing with that of the two redoubts, protects the entry of both theſe rivers.

Near the town of Paramaribo, and about ſix or ſeven miles from the fortreſs Amſterdam, is the citadel which bears the name of Fort Zelandia, protecting the town and all the ſhipping in the roads; and about ſixteen miles from Fort Amſterdam, on Rio Comewina, is a fortreſs called Somelſdyk, which commands the two oppoſite ſhores, viz. thoſe of Rio Comewina and Rio Cottica. Beſides theſe, there are military poſts on the Corantine, the Seramica, and Marawina. Next to theſe is a ſtrong guard at the mouth of the Mott Creek, about thirty miles below the river Surinam, where a fire-beacon or light-houſe is erected on the coaſt, to warn the ſhips bound for the river that they are paſt the mouth of the dangerous Marawina. This guard alſo fires a few guns, to apprize the colony when ſhips are within view and ſteering for the coaſt. Along the higher parts of the rivers Surinam, Comewina, and Cottica, advanced guards are alſo continually kept, to protect the inhabitants from inland invaſions by the Indians or fugitive negroes. In theſe fortifications conſiſts the principal defence of this ſettlement; beſides a ſmall armed bark or guarda-coſta, which

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cruises between the river Marawina and Berbice, to give intelligence in case of any threatening danger to the colony.

I had almost forgotten to mention, that a path fortified with military posts had been projected, and was actually begun, from the upper parts of the river Comawina to the river Seramica; but the plan did not succeed, and the line, which is called the orange-path, is at present in the state of a wilderness.

Having thus described the surface of the country in general, with its boundaries, rivers, &c. I shall proceed to an account of the earliest discoveries and most remarkable revolutions of this once flourishing colony, which escaped being visited by the gallant Admiral Rodney in the last war.—That part of Terra Firma, which is called Guiana, or the Wild Coast, and in which lies the colony of Surinam, is said by some to have been first found out by the justly celebrated Christopher Columbus, in the year 1498, whence he was sent home in chains; though others contend that it was not discovered till the year 1504, by Vasco Nunes, a Spaniard, as was stated in the beginning of this Chapter.

In 1595 it was visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, under Queen Elizabeth, who also sailed up the river Oronoque above 600 miles, in search of the supposed El Dorado, and in hopes of discovering the gold-mines, of which he had the most lively expectations, from samples of a marcasite,

marcasite, which the Spaniards call Madre de Oro *. In 1634, a Captain Marshall, with about sixty English, were discovered in Surinam employed in planting tobacco, according to the relation of David Piterse de Vries, a Dutchman, who conversed with them upon the spot. In 1640, Surinam was inhabited by the French, who were obliged to leave it soon after, on account of the frequent invasions which they justly suffered from the Caribbean Indians, for having, like their neighbours the Spaniards, treated them with the most barbarous cruelties. In the year 1650, this colony being vacant, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, by King Charles the Second's permission, sent thither one vessel, equipped by himself, to take possession of it in the name of his royal master; a little after which he dispatched three vessels more, one of them carrying twenty guns. All these were well received by the Indians or inhabitants of the country, with whom they entered into friendly treaties, and a kind of negociation. Two years after this Lord Willoughby went over himself, and leaving several good and wholesome laws and regulations for the government and defence of the colony, returned to England, whence he continued to supply the settlement at his own expence with men and ammunition. On the second day of June,

* Of this extraordinary enterprize the curious reader may see a full account, written by Sir Walter Raleigh himself, as it was published by Dr. Birch, in 1751, among the rest of Raleigh's works, printed for Dodsley, in two vols. octavo.

1662,

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1662, the colony of Surinam was granted by charter of Charles the Second to Francis Lord Willoughby, and at that lord's deſire to be divided with Lawrence Hide, ſecond ſon of Edward Earl of Clarendon, for them and their deſcendants for ever: the original record of this charter is to be found in the chapel of the Rolls. In 1664, the Engliſh captured the New Netherlands, ſince called New-York, from the Dutch.

In the year 1665, Surinam was ſucceſsfully cultivated, moſtly by planting tobacco. They had alſo raiſed above forty fine ſugar plantations, and erected a ſtrong fortreſs of hewn ſtone for their defence. It is proper however to remark, that ſome ſuppoſe theſe improvements were effected by the Portugueſe, though at what period is uncertain; while the French ſtrenuouſly diſpute the point, and inſiſt that they were the work of Monſieur Ponſert de Bretigny, when France had poſſeſſion of that country. However this may be, the fortreſs is ſituated about ſixteen or eighteen miles from the mouth of the river Surinam, and theſe induſtrious ſettlers found themſelves perfectly happy in a ſmall town which they had built under the walls. Their felicity was not of long duration; for in the wars between Charles the Second and the United Provinces, the Dutch having been driven in 1661 from the Brazils by the Portugueſe, took the colony of Surinam from the Engliſh in 1667, under the command of a Captain Abraham Criuvon, who was diſ-

patched for that purpose by the province of Zealand, with three ships of war and 300 marines. The English commander, William Biam, lost the settlement of Surinam by surprize, when above 600 of the best men in the colony were at work on the sugar plantations. This neglect appears from the trifling loss of the Dutch, who in storming the citadel had but one man killed. They immediately planted the Prince of Orange's flag on the ramparts, and gave now to this fortress the name of Zelandia, and that of New Middleburge to the town of Paramaribo, after making the inhabitants, amongst other contributions, pay one hundred thousand pounds weight of sugar, and sending a number of them to the island of Tobago. This event took place in February, and in July following the peace was concluded at Breda. But, most unluckily for the new possessors of Surinam, it was concluded unknown to the English commodore, Sir John Harman, who in October that same year, having first taken Cayenne from the French, entered the river with a strong fleet of seven ships of war, two bomb-ketches, &c. and retook the colony from the Dutch, killing on this occasion above fifty of their men, and destroying nine pieces of cannon in Fort Zelandia. The new inhabitants were now in their turn laid under contribution, and the Dutch garrison were transported as prisoners to the island of Barbadoes.

At the discovery, in Surinam, that the peace had been concluded in Europe between the contending powers,

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before Commodore Harman retook the colony from the Dutch, conſiderable tumult and diſorder took place among the inhabitants, who knew not whom they ought to acknowledge as their lawful ſovereign. At length, by an order of King Charles, the ſettlement was ceded to the Dutch, in 1669, when twelve hundred of the old inhabitants, Engliſh and negroes together, left it, and went to ſettle on the iſland of Jamaica. At the cloſe of the ſucceeding war, it was agreed by the treaty of Weſtminſter that Surinam ſhould be the property of the Dutch for ever, in exchange for the province of New-York, which accordingly took place in the year 1674; and after this period the colony of Surinam was never more in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain. In 1678, a Mr. Heynſius was governor of the colony, and a Captain Lightenburgh commander of the troops.

The Dutch for the firſt few years enjoyed little ſatisfaction in their new poſſeſſions, as they were daily harraſſed by the invaſions of the Carribbean Indians, to whom they were much more obnoxious than the Engliſh had been: indeed they carried their reſentment ſo far as to murder ſeveral of the Dutch ſettlers. In addition to this, the province of Zealand, to which the colony properly belonged, being perpetually at variance with the other United Provinces concerning the ſovereignty of this ſettlement, and not being of themſelves able to ſupport the great expence which was requiſite for its preſervation and defence, at laſt reſolved to ſell the whole to the Dutch Weſt India Company;

Company; which they did in the year 1682, for the ſum of £.23,636 ſterling, including all the warlike ſtores, ammunition, &c. amongſt which were fifty pieces of cannon. At the ſame time they obtained a charter from their high mightineſſes the States General, exempting them from duty for ten years. A few months after this, however, the Weſt India Company, notwithſtanding the above charter of indemnification, finding the other neceſſary expences of the ſettlement alſo too great for them, again transferred two-thirds of the colony of Surinam, the one to the town of Amſterdam, the other to the houſe of Somelſdyk, at the ſame price for which they had bought it, and theſe three together formed a ſociety, to whom (ſtill under the ſanction of their high mightineſſes) was ſome time afterwards intruſted, by a reſolution of the States General, the ſole and entire direction of the affairs of this country.

Such was the ſituation of Surinam, and in this manner all matters were finally ſettled, when Cornelius Van Aarſen, lord of Somelſdyk (as being one of the proprietors) went over with three hundred men, with whom he alſo took ſome felons ſentenced for tranſportation. At his arrival, in 1684, he took the command as governor general of the colony. He then created a court of policy, to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration of juſtice; with the members of which, as well as with the inhabitants, he lived in a ſtate of continual diſſenſion. The conſequence was, that they ſent ſeveral complaints againſt him to Europe, notwithſtanding

CHAP. II. withſtanding he had made a favourable peace with the Caribbee, Warowa, and Arawakka Indians, as well as with a few run-away negroes, who had been ſettled at Rio Copename ſince the Engliſh left the colony.

This unfortunate gentleman's reign, however, laſted but a ſhort ſpace, viz. till the year 1688, when on the ſame day both the governor and deputy governor, Mr. Verboom, were murdered by their own ſoldiers, owing, as was alledged, to their having not only forced the men to work like negroes in digging canals, &c. but alſo obliged them to ſubſiſt on very bad and ſhort allowance, which drove them to this act of deſperation *.—I am ſorry to ſay this treatment is too frequently the caſe in the ſettlements, as I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to prove. Such indeed was the confidence of theſe aſſaſſins, that they offered to give in their defence, and aſſign their reaſons for committing this act of cruelty.

As the particulars of the aſſaſſination are not uninteresting, I ſhall beg leave to treſpaſs upon the reader's patience by a brief recital of the tranſaction.

The governor was walking under a grove of orange-trees, near his own houſe, with Mr. Verboom, when unexpectedly ten or twelve armed ſoldiers (ſeemingly drunk) accoſted them, and immediately inſiſted on leſs work and better ſubſiſtence. The governor drawing his

* Somelſdyk had the character of a tyrant; he was, under the cloak of religion, deſpotic, paſſionate, brutal, and cruel; he even ordered an Indian chief's head to be ſtruck off for ſome domeſtic miſdemeanour, for which he could not produce, eſpecially in thoſe days, the ſmalleſt ſhadow of authority.

ſword

ſword to force them back, was inſtantaneouſly ſhot through the body in many places, and died upon the ſpot; his companion, on the other hand, received but one wound, and did not expire till the ninth day after. This done, the rioters, accompanied by ſeveral accomplices, marched in triumph to Fort Zelandia, which they took without reſiſtance, and made themſelves maſters of the gunpowder and victualling magazines. After this, the garriſon having joined them, they formed a ring, and choſe out from among them a commander in chief, and ſeveral other officers to whom they all ſwore to be faithful, as alſo to each other, to the laſt drop of their blood. What is very remarkable, is, that their new chief, the very ſame afternoon, ordered the body of the maſſacred governor, Somelſdyk, to be interred in Fort Zelandia with decency and military honours; and even the great guns were fired from the walls, and three rounds with ſmall arms by the rebels.

The magiſtrates and other inhabitants of Surinam now beheld themſelves in a moſt unpleaſant ſituation, and were obliged even to enter into a capitulation with the inſurgents in the fort, the principal articles of which were, that the latter ſhould evacuate Fort Zelandia, for which they were to receive a few hundred pounds; that they were then to be permitted to embark on board the tranſport ſhip Salamander, to quit the colony without moleſtation, and to ſet ſail for what part of the world they ſhould prefer: they accordingly, to the amount of above one hundred,

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hundred, were ſent on board; but no ſooner did they prepare to weigh anchor for their departure, than the ſhip was boarded by ſeveral ſmall veſſels, privately armed and manned for the purpoſe. The rebels were compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, and a few days after were tried for murder and rebellion; when eleven of the ringleaders were executed, three of them were broke alive upon the rack, and eight were hanged on the gallows in irons. The reſt obtained their pardon; but being no longer to be depended on, were gradually diſcharged from the colonial ſervice, when others could be procured to replace them.

In the following year the widow of Somelſdyk offered to transfer her portion in this ſettlement to King William the Third, but to no purpoſe; while a Mr. Scherpenhayzoen was ſent over to Surinam from Holland, with a freſh ſupply of men and ammunition, to take the command in the room of the late Lord of Somelſdyk, as governor of the colony. Mr. Scherpenhayzoen, at his arrival, finding every thing in the utmoſt confuſion, in order to apply the ſpeedieſt means of redreſs, eſtabliſhed a court of juſtice, which differed from that formed by his predeceſſor, Governor Somelſdyk, in this particular, that the former is inveſted with the management of all military and criminal affairs, and the latter with that of all civil proceſſes and pecuniary matters. Both of theſe courts ſtill remain, and of both the governor is always preſident.

This gentleman was alſo very diligent in eſtabliſhing many

many good laws and inftitutions; and had juft begun to put the colony in a proper ftate of defence (of which at this time it ftood greatly in need) againft its domeftic and foreign enemies, when war was declared between France and the United Provinces; and the fame year the fettlement of Surinam was attacked by Admiral Ducaffe with a ftrong fleet, which, however, Governor Scherpenhayzon very courageoufly beat off, after they had begun to cannonade Fort Zelandia. CHAP. II.

In 1692 Jeronimus Clifford, an Englifhman, was condemned to be hanged (which fentence was changed to feven years imprifonment in the fortrefs Somelfdyk) on pretence of having infulted a magiftrate who had arrefted him for debt. On application, however, from the court of Great Britain, he was fet at liberty in 1695, by defire of the King, when he made a demand on the colony of 20,000 guineas, for damages and falfe imprifonment; which being refufed, his heirs have continued to claim it fince 1700 to fo late as 1762, but hitherto without obtaining any fatisfaction.

During the fucceeding war which happened in 1712, the French Commodore Jaques Caffard, met with the fame reception from Governor De Gooyer, which Ducaffe had experienced from Scherpenhayzon before Zelandia; but four months after he returned with better fuccefs, and laid the colony under contribution for a fum of about 56,618l. fterling. It was on the 10th of October that he

CHAP. II. entered the river of Surinam, with ſix or eight ſhips of war, accompanied by a number of ſmall veſſels, in which fleet were embarked 3000 men. The largeſt ſhips were Le Neptune of 74, on board which he himſelf commanded

Le Temeraire of 60 guns		
Le Rubis	-	56
La Veſtale	-	48
La Parfaite	-	48
La Meduſe	-	36

The 11th Caſſard ſent a long-boat with a white flag, and an officer to treat with the inhabitants for contributions, which, if they refuſed to pay, he threatened to bombard the town of Paramaribo *. The boat, however, was obliged to return on board without any ſatisfactory anſwer. The river Surinam, juſt before Fort Zelandia, being above a mile in breadth, the Meduſe and ſeveral flat-bottomed veſſels with French troops, being favoured by a very dark night, found means to ſail up beyond Paramaribo without being obſerved by the Dutch, with an intention to plunder the ſugar and coffee plantations

* In the year 1667, Captain Abraham Cruiſen gave the town the name of new Middleburg; but it was before and after called nothing but Paramaribo, which is ſaid to be the true Indian name, and ſhould ſignify The Spot of Flowers. This is the general account. But in my opinion not only Parham's Point, but the Para Creek, and the town of Paramaribo, nay, even the great water called the Golden Parima, on Parham Lake, took their names from Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham; who, as I have mentioned, received this ſettlement from Charles the Second, and was one of the firſt poſſeſſors of this beautiful country. Surinam is alſo called a province by the Dutch, but moſtly known by the name of colony, ſettlement, &c.

that

that are ſituated above that town: but on the 15th, the beſieged prepared two large flat-bottomed barges filled with combuſtible matters, ſuch as old junk, tar-barrels, &c. and anchored them on the other ſide of the river, directly oppoſite to the town, to which fire being applied, both were ſet in a blaze, and diſcovered the ſmalleſt boats of the enemy as they tried to get up the river through the darkneſs of the night. Thus diſcovered, few eſcaped without damage from the guns of the fort, and thoſe of the trading veſſels that lay in the roads, who ſunk ſome of the flat-bottomed boats, a great part of the crews of which were drowned. This ſtratagem, however, did not prevent Caſſard's people, who had haſted forward, from pillaging and ſetting on fire the plantations; while he himſelf, having at laſt anchored before the town of Paramaribo, threw above thirty ſhells into it, and kept up a cloſe cannonade both upon that and Fort Zelandia, till the 20th of October, when he ſent a ſecond meſſage with one of his captains to the Dutch, demanding of them finally, whether they would capitulate and pay contribution, which, if they now dared to refuſe, he threatened fire and deſtruction to the whole ſettlement.

The Dutch finding their ruin inevitable if they perſiſted, demanded three days ceſſation of hoſtilities to deliberate, which being granted, they at laſt complied with commodore Caſſard's demands; and accordingly on the 27th, a treaty of twenty-four articles being ſettled be-

CHAP. II. tween them, they paid the demanded contribution of 56,618l. ſterling to the French, principally in ſugar, negro ſlaves, &c. having but little gold or ſilver in the colony. This was no ſooner accompliſhed, than the commodore weighed anchor, on the 6th of December, 1712, and with his whole fleet left the ſettlement of Surinam.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

First Revolt of the Negroes; Causes thereof—Distracted State of the Colony—Forced Peace concluded with the Rebels—Mutiny of Sailors, Soldiers, &c.

NO sooner was this unfortunate colony delivered from its external and avowed enemies, than it was attacked by internal foes of a more fierce and desperate nature. CHAP. III.

The Carribbean and other Indians had, indeed, in former times, often disturbed this settlement; but, as I have already mentioned, a peace being established with them, after the arrival of Governor Somelsdyk in this colony, they have inviolably adhered to it ever since, living in the greatest harmony and friendship with the Europeans.

The revolted negro slaves are the enemies of whom I now propose to speak, who for some time diffused a general terror over this settlement, and threatened its total loss to the states of Holland.

From the earliest remembrance some fugitive negroes have taken refuge in the woods of Surinam; but these were of very small consideration till about the year 1726, or 1728, when their hostile numbers were much increased, and they had acquired lances and firelocks, which they had pillaged from the estates. By the accession of these

arms,

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arms, in addition to their uſual weapons, bows and arrows, they were enabled to commit continual outrages and depredations upon the coffee and ſugar plantations, as well from a ſpirit of revenge for the inhuman treatment which they had formerly received from their maſters, as with a view of carrying away plunder, and principally gunpowder and ball, hatchets, &c. in order to provide for their future ſubſiſtence and defence.

Theſe negroes were in general ſettled in the upper parts of the river Copename and Seramica, from the latter of which they take the name of the Seramica rebels, in diſtinction from the other gangs which have ſince revolted.

Several detachments of military and plantation people were ſent againſt them, but were of very ſmall effect in reducing them to obedience by promiſes, or extirpating them by force of arms.

In 1730, a moſt ſhocking and barbarous execution of eleven of the unhappy negro captives was reſolved upon, in the expectation that it might terrify their companions, and induce them to ſubmit. One man was hanged alive upon a gibbet, by an iron hook ſtuck through his ribs; two others were chained to ſtakes, and burnt to death by a ſlow fire. Six women were broken alive upon the rack, and two girls were decapitated. Such was their reſolution under theſe tortures, that they endured them without even uttering a ſigh.—

"Some Afric chief will riſe, who ſcorning chains,
"Racks, tortures, flames, excruciating pains,
"Will lead his injur'd friends to bloody fight,
"And in the flooded carnage take delight;
"Then dear repay us in ſome vengeful war,
"And give us blood for blood, and ſcar for ſcar."

And ſo it actually was in this inſtance, for this inhuman maſſacre produced an effect very contrary to what had been expected. Indeed it ſo much enraged the Seramica rebels, that for ſeveral years they became dreadful to the coloniſts; who no longer being able to ſupport the expences and fatigues of ſallying out againſt them in the woods, in addition to the great loſſes which they ſo frequently ſuſtained by their invaſions, of which they lived in continual terror, at laſt reſolved to treat for peace with their ſable enemies.

Governor Mauricius, who was at this period at the head of the colony, now ſent out a ſtrong detachment to the rebel ſettlement at the Seramica river, for the purpoſe of effecting, if poſſible, a peace ſo ardently deſired. This detachment, after ſome ſkirmiſhing with the ſtraggling rebel parties, at laſt arrived at their head quarters, where they demanded and obtained a parley. A treaty of peace, conſiſting of ten or twelve articles, was actually concluded between the different parties in the year 1749, ſimilar to that which had been made by the Engliſh in the year 1739, with the rebels in the iſland of Jamaica.—The chief of the Seramica rebels was a Creole negro, called

CHAP. III. called Captain Adoe, who upon this occaſion received from the governor, as a preſent, a fine large cane, with a ſilver pummel, on which were engraven the arms of Surinam, as a mark of their independence, and a preliminary to the other preſents that were to be ſent out the year following as ſtipulated by treaty, particularly arms and ammunition, on the performance of which the peace was to be finally concluded. Adoe preſented in return a handſome bow, with a complete caſe of arrows, which had been manufactured by his own hands, as a token that during that time all enmity ſhould ceaſe on his ſide.

This affair gave great ſatisfaction to many and indeed to moſt of the inhabitants of Surinam, who now flattered themſelves that their effects were perfectly ſecure; while others regarded this treaty as a very hazardous reſource, and even as a ſtep to the inevitable ruin of the colony.

I muſt confeſs indeed, that, notwithſtanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appears to be more dangerous than making a forced friendſhip with people, who by the moſt abject ſlavery and ill uſage are provoked to break their chains, and ſhake off their yoke in purſuit of revenge and liberty, and who by the truſt which is placed in them have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable.

The inſurrection having riſen to ſuch a height, the coloniſts ought perhaps to have continued to oppoſe it, while they were poſſeſſed of the power of oppoſition, not indeed from

from a motive of cruelty, but for the political good of ſo fine a ſettlement.

If it appeared that cruelty and ill treatment had driven theſe poor creatures to theſe extremities, policy, not leſs than humanity, ought to have dictated to the coloniſts a different conduct in future; but it may be aſked, Whether it is poſſible to keep the African negroes in habits of obedience and induſtry without the ſtricteſt and often the ſevereſt diſcipline ?—No. But I aſk again, Why is it neceſſary to inflict ſuch inhuman tortures, according to the humour and caprice of an unfeeling maſter, or a ſtill more unprincipled overſeer? Why ſhould their reaſonable complaints be never heard by a magiſtrate who has it in his power to redreſs them? Is it becauſe this magiſtrate is a planter, and that he is intereſted in the arbitrary government of this unhappy race?—This is too evident.—It would, however, be great injuſtice if I were not to bear witneſs that I have not unfrequently ſeen the plantation ſlaves treated with the utmoſt humanity, where the hand of the maſter was ſeldom lifted, but to careſs them; and where the eye of the ſlave ſparkled with gratitude and affection.

Let us now proceed, and ſee what were the fruits of making peace with the Seramica rebels.

In 1750, which was the year after, the promiſed preſents were diſpatched to Captain Adoe; but the detachment that carried them were attacked on their march, and the whole of the corps murdered on the ſpot by a

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desperate negro, called Zam Zam, who not having been consulted concerning the treaty of peace, had afterwards put himself at the head of a strong party, and now carried off the whole stock of the detachment, consisting of arms, ammunition, checked linens, canvas cloth, hatchets, saws, and other carpenter's tools; besides salt beef, pork, spirits, &c. and kept them as his own private property. Adoe, on the other hand, not receiving the presents at the time he expected, too hastily concluding he was only to be amused with expectation till a reinforcement of troops should arrive from Europe to subdue him, renewed his incursions: by this accident therefore the peace was immediately broken; cruelties and ravages increased more than before, and death and destruction once more raged throughout the colony.

In 1751, this settlement was in the utmost distress and confusion; when, in compliance with a request of the inhabitants, presented to the States General, Baron Spoke was sent to Surinam, with six hundred fresh troops drafted from the different regiments in the Dutch service, and on their arrival the members of the court were ordered to send Governor Mauricius to Europe, to account for his proceedings; who never returned to the colony, having in 1753 asked and obtained his dismission, after having been honourably acquitted. Baron Spoke, who during the absence of Mauricius was appointed to officiate as governor, found every thing in the greatest disorder, disunion having even arisen between the inhabitants and their rulers,

to

to which it was highly neceſſary to apply the ſpeedieſt means of redreſs. This application was indeed made by the Baron, but he died the year after, and a general diſtraction again took place. CHAP. III.

In 1757, the aſpect of affairs daily becoming worſe, (during the adminiſtration of a Mr. Cromelyn, who now was governor of this colony) a new revolt broke out in the Tempaty Creek amongſt the negroes, owing to the treatment which they received from their maſters. This freſh inſurrection indeed ſoon became of the moſt ſerious conſequence. The new rebels joined themſelves to ſixteen hundred of the old fugitive negroes already ſettled in eight different villages near Tempaty Creek, and after repeated battles and ſkirmiſhes, the enemy being moſtly well armed, and in their reſiſtance generally ſucceſsful, the coloniſts ſaw themſelves once more reduced to ſue for peace with their own ſlaves, near Tempaty Creek, as they had done in the year 1749 with the rebels of Seramica.

During this laſt revolt, a Captain Mayer, of the Society Troops, being tried for cowardice by a court martial, and found guilty, was ordered to be ſhot through the head; he was accordingly led to the place of execution, where, after every preparation for completing the ſentence, he was pardoned by the Governor, who not only ſhewed him every civility, but actually preferred him to the rank of major.

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To evince the abſurdity of that prejudice, which conſiders human creatures as brutes, merely becauſe they differ from ourſelves in colour, I muſt beg leave to mention a few of the principal ceremonies that attended the ratification of this peace.

The firſt thing propoſed by the coloniſts was a parley, which was agreed to by the rebels; when the laſt not only deſired, but abſolutely inſiſted, that the Dutch ſhould ſend them yearly, amongſt a great variety of other articles, a quantity of good fire-arms and ammunition, as ſpecified in a long liſt, expreſſed in broken Engliſh, by a negro whoſe name was Boſton, and who was one of their captains.

Governor Cromelyn next ſent two commiſſioners, Mr. Sober and Mr. Abercrombie, who marched through the woods, eſcorted by a few military, &c. to carry ſome preſents to the rebels, previous to the ratification of the peace, for which they now were commiſſioned finally to treat.

At the arrival of the above gentlemen in the rebel camp, at the Jocka Creek, about fifteen miles eaſt of the Tempaty Creek, they were introduced to a very handſome negro, called *Araby*, who was their chief, and born in the foreſts amongſt the laſt ſixteen hundred that I have juſt mentioned. He received them very politely, and taking them by the hand, deſired they would ſit down by his ſide upon the green; at the ſame time aſſuring them they need not be under any apprehenſions of evil, ſince

from

from their coming in so good a cause, not one intended, or even dared to hurt them.

When the above-mentioned Captain Boston, however, perceived that they had brought a parcel of trinkets, such as knives, scissars, combs, and small looking-glasses, and forgotten the principal articles in question, viz. gunpowder, fire-arms, and ammunition, he resolutely approached the commissioners, and demanded, in a thundering voice, whether the Europeans imagined that the negroes could live on combs and looking-glasses; adding, that one of each was quite sufficient to let them all see their faces, while a single gallon of *mansancy*, viz. gunpowder, would have been accepted as a proof of their confidence; but since that had been omitted, he should never consent to their return to their countrymen, till every article of the list should be dispatched to them, and consequently the treaty fulfilled.

This expostulation occasioned the interference of a negro captain, called Quacoo, who declared that these gentlemen were only the messengers of their governor and court; and as they could not be answerable for their master's proceedings, they should certainly return to the settlement without injury or insult, and no person, not even he, Captain Boston, should dare to oppose them.

The chief of the rebels then ordered silence, and desired Mr. Abercrombie to make up a list himself, of such articles as he, Araby, should specify; which that gentle-

man

CHAP. III. man having done, and promiſed to deliver, the rebels not only gave him and his companions leave peaceably to return with it to town, but allowed their governor and court a whole year to deliberate whether they were to chuſe peace or war, unanimouſly ſwearing that during that interval all animoſity ſhould ceaſe on their ſide; after which, having entertained them in the beſt manner their ſituation in the woods afforded, they wiſhed them a happy journey to Paramaribo.

One of the rebel officers, on this occaſion, repreſented to the commiſſioners how deplorable it was that the Europeans, who pretended to be a civilized nation, ſhould be ſo much the occaſion of their own ruin by their inhuman cruelties towards their ſlaves. "We de-"ſire you," continued the negro, "to tell your governor "and your court, that in caſe they want to raiſe no new "gangs of rebels, they ought to take care that the "planters keep a more watchful eye over their own pro-"perty, and not to truſt them ſo frequently in the hands "of drunken managers and overſeers, who by wrong-"fully and ſeverely chaſtiſing the negroes, debauch-"ing their wives and children, neglecting the ſick, &c. "are the ruin of the colony, and wilfully drive to the "woods ſuch numbers of ſtout active people, who by "their ſweat earn your ſubſiſtence, without whoſe hands "your colony muſt drop to nothing; and to whom at "laſt, in this diſgraceful manner, you are glad to come "and ſue for friendſhip."

Mr. Abercrombie now begged that he might be accompanied by one or two of their principal officers to Paramaribo, where he promifed they fhould be well treated; but the chief, Araby, anfwered him with a fmile, that it was time enough a year after, when the peace fhould be thoroughly concluded; that then even his youngeft fon fhould be at their fervice, to receive his education among them, while for his fubfiftence, and even for that of his dependants, he fhould take the fole care upon himfelf, without ever giving the Chriftians the fmalleft trouble.

After this, the commiffioners left the rebels, and the whole detachment arrived fafe at Paramaribo.

The year of deliberation being ended, the governor and court fent out two frefh commiffioners to the negro camp, to bring the fo much wifhed-for peace to a thorough conclufion; which, after much debate, and many ceremonies on both fides, was at laft finally agreed upon. Prefents were promifed to be fent by the Chriftians, agreeable to the wifhes of the negroes; while thefe laft, as a proof of their affection to the Europeans, infifted that each of the commiffioners fhould, during their remaining ftay in the rebel camp, take for his conftant companion one of their handfomeft young women.—They treated them alfo liberally with game, fifh, fruit, and the choiceft productions of the foreft, and entertained them, without intermiffion, with mufic, dancing, and repeated volleys.

At the return of the commiffioners, the ftipulated prefents

CHAP. III. ſents were ſent to the negroes at the Jocka Creek, and, what is remarkable, under the care of the identical Mr. Mayer, who had formerly not dared to fight againſt them, and eſcorted by ſix hundred men, ſoldiers and ſlaves. The puſillanimity of this gentleman, however, appeared again on this occaſion, and he had nearly undone the whole buſineſs by departing from his orders, delivering all the preſents to the rebels without receiving the hoſtages in return. Fortunately Araby kept his word, and ſent down four of his beſt officers as pledges to Paramaribo. By this the peace was perfectly accompliſhed, and a treaty of twelve or fourteen articles was ſigned by the white commiſſioners, and ſixteen of Araby's black captains, in 1761; which ceremony took place on the plantation *Ouca*, in the river Surinam, where all the parties met, this being the ſpot of rendezvous appointed for the purpoſe, after four different embaſſies had been ſent from the Europeans to the negroes.

Signing this treaty alone, however, was ſtill not conſidered as ſufficient by the rebel chief Araby and his people. They immediately bound themſelves by an oath, and inſiſted on the commiſſioners doing the ſame, after the manner which is practiſed by themſelves, not truſting entirely, they alledged, to that made uſe of by the Chriſtians, which they had ſeen them too frequently violate. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the negroes themſelves are uncommonly tenacious of theſe ſolemn engagements, as I never heard of an inſtance, during all the

the time I refided in the colony, of one of them violating his oath. CHAP. III.

The folemnity made ufe of on this day, confifted in each party's letting a few drops of blood with a lancet or penknife from the arm, into a callibafh or cup of clear fpring water, in which were alfo mixed a few particles of dry earth, and of this all prefent were obliged to drink, without exception, which they call drinking each other's blood, having firft fhed a few drops upon the ground by way of libation; when their gadoman or prieft, with up-caft eyes and out-ftretched arms, took heaven and earth to witnefs, and with a moft audible voice and in a moft awful manner, invoked the curfe of the Almighty on thofe who fhould firft break through this facred treaty made between them, from that moment forward to all eternity. To this folemn imprecation the multitude anfwered *Da fo!* which fignifies in their language *Amen* *.

" Then loudly thus, before th' attentive bands,
" He calls the gods, and fpreads his lifted hands:
" O firft and greateft Power, whom all obey,
" Who high on *Ida*'s holy mountain fway;
" Eternal *Jove!* and yon bright orb, that roll
" From eaft to weft, and view from pole to pole!
" Thou mother *Earth!* and all ye living *Floods!*
" Infernal *Furies*, and *Tartarean* gods,
" Who rule the dead, and horrid woes prepare
" For perjur'd kings, and all who falfely fwear!
" Hear and be witnefs." — — —

* This fact is noticed by the Abbé Raynal.

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"From the same urn they drink the mingled wine,
"And add libations to the pow'rs divine.
"While thus their pray'rs united mount the sky,
"Hear, mighty *Jove!* and hear, ye gods on high!
"And may their blood, who first the league confound,
"Shed like this wine, distain the thirsty ground!"

HOMER'S ILIAD.

The solemnity being ended, the chief Araby and each of his captains (to be distinguished from the inferior negroes, as the Seramican chief Adoe had been before in 1749) was presented with a fine large cane and silver pummel, on which was also engraven the arms of the colony.

The above-mentioned negroes are called *Oucas*, after the name of the plantation where the peace articles were signed; and by that name they are since distinguished from those of Seramica, whom I have already described.

At this time the charter was renewed to the West India Company by their High Mightinesses, for the term of thirty years longer (as it had been before in 1670, 1700, and 1730) in consideration of a loan of about five million sterling, at the rate of six *per cent.*

This same year peace was also a second time concluded with the Seramica rebels, who were at that time commanded by a negro called *Wille*, instead of their former chief Adoe, who was dead. But this second peace was unfortunately broken by a rebel captain, called Muzinga, who had received none of the presents, which

had in fact been again intercepted and captured on their way to the chief *Wille*, as they had been formerly on their way to the chief Adoe, by the very same enterprising and rapacious plunderer Zam Zam, with this difference only, that none of the detachment that were sent with them were now murdered, as on the preceding occasion, nor even one single person injured.

Upon this supposed breach of faith, captain Muzinga fought most desperately against the colonists, he gave battle face to face, and beat back, at close quarters, above one hundred and fifty of their best troops, killing numbers, and carrying off all their baggage and ammunition.

Soon after this, however, when the real cause of Muzinga's discontent was known, means were found and adopted to pacify this gallant warrior, by making him receive and share the presents sent out by the colonists, on an equal footing with his brother heroes, when peace was a third and last time concluded in 1762, between the Seramica rebels and the colony, which has providentally been kept sacred and inviolable, as well as that with the Ouca negroes, to this day. By their exertions in the field they thus obtained their freedom.

"O Liberty! thou goddess heavenly bright,
"Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight;
"Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
"And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton train.

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"Eas'd of her load, ſubjection grows more light,
"And Poverty looks cheerful in thy ſight;
"Thou mak'ſt the gloomy face of nature gay,
"Giv'ſt beauty to the ſun, and pleaſure to the day."

The hoſtages and chief officers of both the above-mentioned negro cohorts, on their arrival at Paramaribo, were entertained at the governor's own table, having previouſly paraded in ſtate through the town, accompanied by his excellency in his own private carriage.

By their capitulation with the Dutch, the above Ouca and Seramica rebels muſt yearly receive, as I have mentioned, a quantity of arms and ammunition from the colony, for which the Europeans have received in return the negroes' promiſes of being their faithful allies, to deliver up all their deſerters, for which they are to receive proper premiums, never to appear armed at Paramaribo above five or ſix at a time, and alſo to keep their ſettlement at a proper diſtance from the town and plantations: the Seramica negroes at the river Seramica, and thoſe of the Ouca negroes at the Jocka-creek, near the river Marawina, where one or two white men, called poſt-holders, were to reſide among them, in the quality of envoys.

Both theſe tribes were ſuppoſed, at the period I ſpeak of, to amount in all to three thouſand, and but a few years after, by thoſe that were ſent to viſit their ſettlements (including wives and children) they were computed to

be not leſs than fifteen or twenty thouſand. They are already become overbearing and even inſolent, brandiſhing their ſilver-headed canes in defiance of the inhabitants, and forcing from them liquors, and very often money, and reminding them how cruelly their anceſtors had murdered their parents and their huſbands.

From theſe circumſtances, and their numbers increaſing from day to day, I muſt conclude, that ſhould the peace be ever broken, theſe new allies will become the moſt dreadful foes that ever the colony of Surinam can have to contend with.

In 1763 the town of Paramaribo would have been burnt down to the ground, had it not been prevented by the courage and intrepidity of the ſailors, who, at the hazard of their lives, without other aſſiſtance, prevented a general conflagration.

About this time a mutiny broke out on board the outward-bound Eaſt Indiaman, Neimburgh, commanded by Captain Ketell. The crew, conſiſting chiefly of French and German deſerters, who had been kidnapped in Holland, roſe in arms againſt their ſuperiors, and having murdered moſt of the officers and warrant officers, while others were put in chains, carried the veſſel to the Brazils, there the ringleaders went on ſhore, and being engaged in riot and diſputation ſoon diſcovered what they were to the Portugueſe governor, in conſequence of which they were all taken into cuſtody; but their accomplices on board ſuſpecting what

had

CHAP. III.

had happened, immediately ſlipped their cable, and ſet ſail for the iſland of Cayenne, where this piracy was put to an end; for the French ſeizing ſhip and crew, delivered both to the colony of Surinam, where, in 1764, ſeven of the moſt guilty were executed on board the ſame veſſel which they had captured, then at anchor in the roads before the town of Paramaribo. One of theſe unhappy wretches was decapitated, and ſix hanged to the yard-arm, whoſe heads were alſo chopped off and planted upon iron ſpikes on the beach, in a cage made for the purpoſe. The others, who had been taken by the Portugueſe, were ſent from the Brazils to Amſterdam, after which they were alſo executed in Texel roads on board the Weſtelingwerf man of war, which ſhip was that ſent out with us from Holland: their bodies were afterwards gibbeted in iron harneſs, and placed for an example along the coaſt.

This ſame year alſo, three of the ſociety or colony ſoldiers, who had been guilty of mutiny and deſertion, were executed in Surinam; but as their caſe is the moſt peculiar of its kind that ever happened, I muſt alſo beg leave to give ſome account of the tranſaction.

During the time of an inſurrection, which happened in the year 1761 among the negro ſlaves in the colony of Berbice, where they had not been treated ſo cruelly as in other colonies, not only a regiment of marines, commanded by Colonel de Salſe, which now belongs to General Douglas, was ſent over from Holland to that

ſettlement,

ſettlement, but troops alſo from the neighbouring colonies were diſpatched, in order to ſubdue the revolt. In this deſign they ſoon ſucceeded, ſince the woods in that part, being of ſmall extent, are eaſily penetrated, which prevents the rebels from forming ſettlements, and ſince from the ſame cauſe they will not ſerve to conceal them from their purſuers. The conſequence was, that after numbers had been ſhot dead, and others taken priſoners, the reſt were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, and implore for mercy, or they muſt have been ſtarved to death for want of ſubſiſtence.

During theſe troubles, it happened that one officer and about ſeventy men, ſent from the colony of Surinam, had been poſted on the banks of the river Corrantine. This detachment, together with a party of Indians, who are natural enemies to the negroes, but friends to the Europeans, had one day beaten the rebels in a ſkirmiſh, having killed ſeveral of them, and retaken about the value of twenty or thirty pounds ſterling in effects, which the negroes had pillaged from the neighbouring eſtates. The officer who commanded this detachment having, however, unwarrantably diſtributed this booty among the Indians alone, without giving a ſhare to his ſoldiers, diſguſted them ſo much that they revolted; and deſerting their commander, took their march for the river Oronoque through the woods, in hopes of ſoon falling in with Spaniſh ſettlements and being relieved: but how miſerably were theſe deluded men miſtaken, and diſappointed

pointed in their deſperate undertaking, by meeting the rebels or buſh negroes on the ſecond or third day of their march! Theſe, notwithſtanding the ſolemn proteſtations of the ſoldiers, that they were come without any evil intention towards them, and their intreaties to let them paſs by unmoleſted, were ſuſpected of being ſent out to ſpy and betray them; the negroes therefore inſiſted that they ſhould lay down their arms at mercy, which the deſerters having complied with, the rebels immediately dreſſed them in one rank. Then having picked out ten or twelve to aſſiſt them in attending the ſick and wounded, repairing their arms, and trying to make gunpowder, (in which however they miſcarried) they condemned all the others to death, which was inſtantly put in execution, and above fifty of thoſe unfortunate men were one by one ſhot dead upon the ſpot.

It may well be ſuppoſed, that thoſe who were ſaved alive by the negroes muſt have ſpun out a very melancholy exiſtence among them, and indeed moſt of them died within very few months after by ill treatment, hardſhips, and want; and when the rebels ſurrendered themſelves to the Europeans at diſcretion, the few remaining miſerable wretches that were ſtill found alive, were directly loaded with irons, and ſent back from the colony of Berbice to Surinam, where three of them were executed in the town of Paramaribo, one being hanged, and two broken alive upon the rack. One of theſe miſerable wretches was a Frenchman, called *Renauld*, who ſeemed to have imbibed the ſentiments of the negroes

by

By his residence amongst them. With a truly heroic spirit he comforted his accomplice, who was a German, and, tied down by his side, just ready to receive the dreadful blows, he exhorted him to preserve his courage; adding, that the voyage of life would soon be over, while his own bones were breaking by the executioner with an iron bar. CHAP. III.

The ring-leading negroes were roasted alive by half dozens in a shocking manner, being chained to stakes in the midst of surrounding flames, and expired without uttering a groan or a sigh. The miserable fate of so many poor wretches excited great commiseration; and it is impossible to reflect, without the strongest feelings of indignation, on a punishment so shocking to humanity, inflicted upon men, the most of whom were drove to misconduct by tyranny and oppression. But at the same time I shall ever think it my duty to support that the strictest discipline and subordination (when *tempered by justice*) is absolutely necessary amongst all large bodies of people, of whatever class or description, not only for the good of the public in general, but as the surest means of avoiding severity on the individual (the usual consequence of too much lenity) and of being painfully obliged to establish good order at last by a perpetual round of reluctant rigour and chastisement.——We will now leave these sable scenes, and point out what happened in the colony of Surinam, during its short and flourishing state.

CHAP. IV.

Short Interval of Peace and Plenty—The Colony plunged in new Diſtreſs by a freſh Inſurrection, and nearly ruined—Review of the Troops for its Defence—An Action with the Rebels—Gallant Behaviour of a black Corps—The Arrival of Colonel Fourgeoud's Marines.

IN 1764, gold and ſilver ſpecie being ſcarce, cards were ſtamped, to the amount of 40,000 l. value, which paſſed as caſh, at a diſcount of ten *per cent.*

In 1765, a conſiderable degree of commotion was excited in the colony, on account of a free negro woman, called *Elizabeth Sampſon*, marrying an European; ſhe was worth above 100,000 l. ſterling, inherited from her maſter, whoſe ſlave ſhe had formerly been: having addreſſed herſelf to their High Mightineſſes, her requeſt was granted; and accordingly, being chriſtened, ſhe entered into the lawful bond of matrimony with a Mr. *Zubli*.

In the ſucceeding year the colony was viſited by an earthquake, which however did very little damage.

In 1769, the whole coaſt was on fire, from *Cayenne* to *Demerary:* this happened in the dry ſeaſon, when all the foreſt is parched by the heat, and the underwood choked with dried leaves. The flames, which were ſuppoſed to have been kindled by the neglect of the Indians or rebels, were ſo violent, that they threatened

destruction to several estates, and during the night appeared most tremendous from the sea; while the east wind made the smoke so thick throughout the day, that one person could not see another at the distance of six yards. During this time it is not surprising that the smell was almost insupportable. CHAP. IV.

This same year, a quantity of rock crystal was discovered in the inland parts of Dutch Guiana.

In 1770, the house of Somelsdyk sold its share or portion of the colony to the town of Amsterdam for the sum of 63,636l. sterling; so that from that period that city possesses two-thirds, and the other third still belongs to the West India Company, which, as I have already stated, form together the society of Surinam.

The colony now seemed in a prosperous and flourishing state, since the concluding of the treaty with the Seramica and Ouca negroes, and every thing exhibited an aspect of peace and good order. The inhabitants believed their persons and effects in perfect security, so that nothing was thought of but mirth and dissipation, which was soon extended to lavishness and profusion. Surinam resembled, indeed, a large and beautiful garden, stocked with every thing that nature and art could produce, to make the life of man both comfortable to himself, and useful to society: all the luxuries, as well as the necessaries of life, abounded; every sense was apparently intoxicated with enjoyment; and, to use the

CHAP. IV. figurative language of a ſacred book, Surinam was a land that flowed with milk and honey.

But this deluſive felicity laſted not long. The planter, too earneſt to become immediately opulent, never once conſidered the wretchedneſs of the ſlave; while drunkenneſs, luxury, and riot, became predominant in the one party, the miſery of the other proportionably increaſed; nor did the deſtruction that ſo lately threatened them ſeem to have the ſmalleſt influence on their minds; at the ſame time the ſucceſsful example of the Seramica and Ouca negroes ſerved to ſtimulate the other ſlaves to revolt, and from theſe complicated cauſes the colony was again plunged into its former abyſs of difficulties. The moſt beautiful eſtates in the ſettlement, called Plantations, were once more ſeen, ſome blazing in flames, and others laid in aſhes; while the reeking and mangled bodies of their inhabitants were ſcattered along the banks of the river Cottica, with their throats cut, and their effects pillaged by their own negroes, who all fled to the woods, men, women, and children, without exception.

Theſe new revolters were now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Cottica Rebels, from the ſpot on which their hoſtilities commenced; and their numbers augmenting from day to day, they ſoon became as formidable to the ſettlement as the Seramica and Ouca negroes had formerly been, and in 1772 they had nearly given the finiſhing blow to Surinam. At that period all was horror and conſternation—nothing but a general maſſacre

was

was expected by the majority of the inhabitants, who fled from their eftates, and crouded to the town of Paramaribo for protection. In this fituation of affairs, the inhabitants were obliged to have recourfe to the dangerous refolution of forming a regiment of manumitted flaves, to fight againft their own countrymen. When we confider the treatment which was fo generally exercifed againft the flaves of this fettlement, it muft furprife the reader to be told, that this hazardous refolution had providentially the defired effect. Thefe brave men performed wonders above expectation, in conjunction with the Colonial or Society troops, whofe ftrength and numbers alone were no longer thought fufficient to defend this fettlement. But not to rely abfolutely on fuch precarious affiftance, the fociety of Surinam made application to his ferene highnefs the Prince of Orange for a regular regiment, and our corps was in confequence difpatched in the manner which has been already related. As, however, the events which preceded our arrival were of the utmoft importance, I fhall endeavour to lay before my readers the moft authentic information I was able to obtain.

The regular troops from Europe that belong to the fociety of Surinam, were intended to be twelve hundred men when complete, divided into two battalions, paid partly by the fociety, and partly by the inhabitants: but they can never produce that number in the field, for many reafons—fuch as their either dying on their paffage, while they

are

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are ſeaſoning to the climate, or during their dangerous and fatiguing duty in the woods and ſwamps. Beſides this number, a reinforcement of three hundred more was now ſent them from the town of Amſterdam; but of theſe poor wretches ſcarcely fifty were landed fit for ſervice; the remainder, owing to the inhumanity of their leader, Mr. N., having participated in a fate little better than that of the poor African negroes in the veſſel of the inhuman Captain C—gw—d, who, in 1787, threw 132 living ſlaves into the ſea to periſh. The unhappy creatures, under the command of Mr. N. were ſtarved and tormented by unneceſſary ſeverity; and his lieutenant, unable to continue a witneſs of the tyrannical puniſhments he inflicted, leaped from the cabin window, and terminated his exiſtence.

The military in Surinam are compoſed of ſeveral very good and experienced officers, and well inured to the ſervice, but for their private men I cannot ſay much; they are, in fact, little better than the outcaſts of all nations: they are of all ages, ſhapes, and ſizes, and ſeem by chance wafted together from all the different corners of the globe. Notwithſtanding this, however, it has often been found that they behave well in action, and have on many different occaſions, by their bravery, been of infinite ſervice to this ſettlement *.

Here is alſo a ſmall corps of artillery, being part of the

* A corps of European chaſſeurs, or rifle-men, was ſince added to theſe troops, after the manner of the light infantry in England.

twelve

twelve hundred, which I muſt acknowledge to be a very fine company in all reſpects. As for what they pleaſe to call their militia, they are, a few gentlemen excepted, who command them, ſo ſtrange a collection of ill-diſciplined rabble, that they can ſcarcely be mentioned as fighting men.

With reſpect to the new-raiſed corps of manumitted ſlaves, though in number they amounted but to three hundred, they indeed proved ultimately of as much ſervice to the colony as all the others put together *. Theſe men were all volunteers, and in general ſtout able young fellows, ſelected from the different plantations, the owners of whom received for them their full value in money. None were accepted but thoſe who were reputed to be of unexceptionable character. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that what we Europeans call a good character, was, by the Africans, looked on as deteſtable, particularly by thoſe *born* in the woods, whoſe only crime conſiſted in revenging the wrongs done to their forefathers. I have been an ocular witneſs to aſtoniſhing proofs of the fidelity of theſe enfranchiſed ſlaves to the Europeans, and their valour againſt the rebel negroes.

Their chief leaders are three or four white men, called Conductors, to whom they pay the ſtricteſt obedience:

* *Blood-hounds* were alſo propoſed, to diſcover and attack the rebel negroes in the woods, but never adopted, from the difficulty of their proper training, &c.

one

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one or two of theſe attend them when they ſet out on any enterprize of conſequence. Every ten privates have one captain, who commands them in the foreſt by the different founding of his horn, as the boatſwain commands the ſeaman by his call, or as the cavalry of Europe are directed by the ſound of the trumpets in the field; by which they advance, attack, retreat, ſpread, &c.: they are armed only with a firelock and ſabre. Of both theſe weapons they underſtand the management in the moſt maſterly manner; they generally go naked, in preference, in the woods, excepting trowſers, and a ſcarlet cap, the emblem of liberty, on which is their number, and which, together with their parole or watchword, which is *orange*, diſtinguiſhes them from the rebels in any action, to prevent diſagreeable miſtakes. They have, indeed, of late years, been farther diſtinguiſhed by green uniforms.—Thus far as to the force of the colony.

I have already ſtated, that the newly revolted rebels, called Cotticas, were juſt preparing to give the finiſhing blow to Surinam; and I ſhall now proceed to relate how this cataſtrophe was prevented.

Theſe negroes, being commanded by a deſperate fellow named Baron, had erected a ſtrong ſettlement between the river Cottica and the ſea-coaſt, whence they ſallied forth to commit their depredations on the plantations in Cottica river, &c.

I have

Blake Sculp^t

A Coromantyn Free Negro, or Ranger, armed.

I have called this ſettlement ſtrong, becauſe, like an iſland, it was entirely ſurrounded by a broad unfordable marſh or ſwamp, which prevented all communication, except by private paths under water, known only to the rebels, and before which Baron had placed loaded ſwivels, which he had plundered from the neighbouring eſtates: it was moreover fenced and incloſed on every ſide by ſeveral thouſand ſtrong palliſadoes, and was on the whole no contemptible fortification. To this ſpot Baron gave the name of *Boucon* or *Mouldered*, intimating that it ſhould periſh in duſt rather than it ſhould be taken by or ſurrendered to the Europeans. He even preſumed to ſuppoſe, that it would never be diſcovered.

After many marches and counter-marches, however, this neſt of deſperadoes was at laſt diſcovered, by the vigilance and perſeverance of the Society troops, and the black ſoldiers or rangers, by which name I ſhall for the future diſtinguiſh them, their ſervice being chiefly like that of the rangers in Virginia, who were ſent out againſt the Cherokee Indians. Another ſettlement of the rebels was, indeed, well known to exiſt in that corner of the colony, known by the name of the Lea-ſhore, and ſituated between the rivers Surinam and Seramica; but here the ſituation, by marſhes, quagmires, mud, and water, is ſuch, that it fortifies them from any attempts of the Europeans; nay, they are even indiſcoverable by negroes, ſo thick and impenetrable is the foreſt on that ſpot, and ſo choked with thorns, briars, and every ſpecies of underwood.

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From thefe coverts they fally forth in fmall parties, during the night, to rob the gardens and fields furrounding Paramaribo, and carry off the young women, &c. In this wildernefs a young officer, Lieutenant Freidrecy, was loft two or three days and nights, as he went out on a fhooting party, and would probably never have been heard of, had not the governor, by ordering a gun to be fired at intervals, given a fignal for him to find his way back, and thus reftored him once more to his friends.

As foon as it was determined that the rebels commanded by Baron, at Boucon, fhould be befieged and rooted out, a ftrong detachment of white and black troops were fent againft them, under the command of the brave Captain Myland, who was to head the firft; and Lieutenant Freidrecy, a fpirited young officer, with the conductors, was to lead the latter. The detachment, on their arrival at the marfh, however, were obliged to encamp on its borders, not being able to pafs through it on account of its unfordable depth.

On the difcovery of the troops, the bold negro Baron immediately planted a white flag within their view, which he meant not as a token of peace, but of defiance; and an inceffant firing inftantly took place on both fides, but with very little effect.

It was then projected to throw a fafcine bridge over the marfh, by the troops; but this plan, after feveral weeks had been fpent in the attempt, and a number of men

fhot

ſhot dead while employed upon it, was of neceſſity laid aſide. Thus every hope of paſſing through the marſh into the fortreſs being fruſtrated, and the food and ammunition being conſiderably leſſened, added to the loſs of many men, affairs were at length arrived at ſuch a criſis, that the ſiege muſt have been broken up, and the remaining troops muſt have marched back to Paramaribo, had not the rangers, by their indefatigable efforts, and (however ſtrange to think) implacable enmity againſt the rebels, found out and diſcovered to the Europeans the under-water paths of communication to Boucon, ſeveral being ſhot and drowned in the execution of this important ſervice.

Captain Myland with the regulars, on this intelligence, now forded the ſwamp on one ſide, and inſtantly making a feint attack on the fortreſs, drew Baron with all the rebels, as was expected, to its defence; while Lieutenant Freidrecy, with the rangers, having croſſed the ſwamp on the other ſide, embraced the opportunity of leaping, with his black party, over the paliſadoes, ſword in hand, without oppoſition.

A moſt terrible carnage at this time enſued, while ſeveral priſoners were made on both ſides, and the fortreſs of Boucon was taken; but Baron, with the greateſt number of the rebels, eſcaped into the woods, having firſt found means, however, to cut the throats of ten or twelve of the rangers, who had loſt their way in the marſh, and whom he ſeized as they ſtuck faſt in the

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This Baron had formerly been the negro ſlave of a Mr. Dahlbergh, a Swede, who on account of his abilities had advanced him to the rank of a favourite, had taught him to read and write, and bred him a maſon; he had alſo been with his maſter in Holland, and was promiſed his manumiſſion on his return to the colony. But Mr. Dahlbergh breaking his word with regard to his liberty, and ſelling him to a Jew, Baron obſtinately refuſed to work, in conſequence of which he was publicly flogged under the gallows. This uſage the negro ſo violently reſented, that from that moment he vowed revenge againſt all Europeans without exception; fled to the woods, where putting himſelf at the head of the rebels, his name became dreadful, and particularly ſo to his former maſter Dahlbergh, as he ſolemnly ſwore that he ſhould never die in peace till he had waſhed his hands in the tyrant's blood.

To thoſe who know how greatly mankind are affected by ſelf-intereſt, it will not appear ſo extraordinary, as it may to a ſuperficial obſerver, that theſe black rangers ſhould ſo inveterately engage againſt their friends and countrymen. What will not men do to be emancipated from ſo deplorable a ſtate of ſubjection! and this emancipation was obtained upon more certain and advantageous

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grounds by the consent of the Europeans, than if they had absconded into the woods. Having thus once engaged in this service, it is evident they must be considered by the other party as apostates and traitors of the blackest dye; they must be convinced, that defeat must not only expose them to death, but to the severest tortures; they were therefore fighting for something more than liberty and life: success was to bring them the most solid advantages, miscarriage was to plunge them in the severest misery.

The taking of Boucon was now greatly spoken of, and deemed a very severe blow to the rebels; both the regulars and the rangers, indeed, behaved with unprecedented intrepidity and courage. Captain Myland's gallant conduct was most highly acknowledged; while Lieutenant Freidrecy was presented by the Surinam Society with a beautiful sabre, a fusee, and a brace of pistols, mounted in silver, and ornamented with emblems expressive of his merit; besides which, he obtained the rank of captain. It must be confessed, that on this occasion the whole detachment, white and black, without exception, justly met with the fullest marks of approbation for their spirited behaviour.—In this state were the public affairs of Surinam; when, in 1773, our fleet dropped anchor before the town of Paramaribo.

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The Scene changes—Some Account of a beautiful Female Slave—The Manner of travelling in Surinam—The Colonel explores the Situation of the Rivers—Barbarity of a Planter—Wretched Treatment of ſome Sailors.

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HAVING in the firſt chapters given ſome account of our incorporation, our voyage, our landing, and our reception in the colony, in February 1773; and having deſcribed the colony of Surinam, its boundaries, and revolutions, from its earlieſt diſcovery; I ſhall now proceed in my narrative, by connecting the proceedings of our little corps with the general chain of events; and write preciſely what I have learned by local and ocular obſervation.

Having already ſtated that from our arrival till February 27th, we ſeemed to be landed in Guiana for little more than idle diſſipation; I ſhall now proceed from the ſame date, which was about the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon, when our mirth and conviviality ſtill continued, to preſent to the reader, as a contraſt to the preceding ſcenes of horror, a deſcription of the beautiful mulatto maid Joanna. This charming young woman I firſt ſaw at the houſe of a Mr. Demelly, ſecretary to the court of policy, where I daily

daily breakfasted; and with whose lady Joanna, but fifteen years of age, was a very remarkable favourite. Rather taller than the middle size, she was possessed of the most elegant shape that nature can exhibit, moving her well-formed limbs with more than common gracefulness. Her face was full of native modesty, and the most distinguished sweetness; her eyes, as black as ebony, were large and full of expression, bespeaking the goodness of her heart; with cheeks through which glowed, in spite of the darkness of her complexion, a beautiful tinge of vermillion, when gazed upon. Her nose was perfectly well formed, rather small; her lips a little prominent, which, when she spoke, discovered two regular rows of teeth, as white as mountain snow; her hair was a dark brown inclining to black, forming a beautiful globe of small ringlets, ornamented with flowers and gold spangles. Round her neck, her arms, and her ancles, she wore gold chains, rings and medals: while a shawl of India muslin, the end of which was negligently thrown over her polished shoulders, gracefully covered part of her lovely bosom, a petticoat of rich chintz alone completed her apparel. Bare-headed and bare-footed, she shone with double lustre, as she carried in her delicate hand a beaver hat, the crown trimmed round with silver. The figure and appearance of this charming creature could not but attract my particular attention, as they did indeed that of all who beheld her; and induced me to enquire from Mrs.

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8 Demelly,

CHAP. V. Demelly, with much furprize, who fhe was, that appeared to be fo much diftinguifhed above all others of her fpecies in the colony.

"She is, Sir," replied this lady, "the daughter of a "refpectable gentleman, named Kruythoff; who had, be- "fides this girl, four children by a black woman, called "Cery, the property of a Mr. D. B. on his eftate called "Fauconberg, in the upper part of the river Come- "wina.

"Some few years fince Mr. Kruythoff made the offer "of above one thoufand pounds fterling to Mr. D. B. to "obtain manumiffion for his offspring; which being in- "humanly refufed, it had fuch an effect on his fpirits, "that he became frantic, and died in that melancholy "ftate foon after; leaving in flavery, at the difcretion of "a tyrant, two boys and three fine girls, of which the "one now before us is the eldeft *.

"The gold medals, &c. which feem to furprize you, "are the gifts which her faithful mother, who is a "moft deferving woman towards her children, and of "fome confequence amongft her caft, received from her "father (whom fhe ever attended with exemplary affec- "tion) juft before he expired.

* In Surinam all fuch children go with their mothers; that is, if fhe is in flavery, her offspring are her mafter's property, fhould their father be a prince, unlefs he obtains them by purchafe.

"Mr.

Joanna.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S … MAHAL.

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" Mr. D. B. however, met with his juſt reward: for " having ſince driven all his beſt carpenter negroes to the " woods by his injuſtice and ſeverity, he was ruined, " and obliged to fly the colony, and leave his eſtate and " ſtock to the diſpoſal of his creditors; while one of the " above unhappy deſerters, a *ſamboe* *, has by his in- " duſtry been the protector of Cery and her children. " His name is Jolycœur, and he is now the firſt of Baron's " captains, whom you may have a chance of meeting " in the rebel camp, breathing revenge againſt the " Chriſtians.

" Mrs. D. B. is ſtill in Surinam, being arreſted for her " huſband's debts, till Fauconberg ſhall be ſold by ex- " ecution to pay them. This lady now lodges at my " houſe, where the unfortunate Joanna attends her, " whom ſhe treats with peculiar tenderneſs and diſtinc- " tion."

Having thanked Mrs. Demelly for her account of Joanna, in whoſe eye glittered the precious pearl of ſympathy, I took my leave, and went to my lodging in a ſtate of ſadneſs and ſtupefaction. However trifling, and like the ſtyle of romance, this relation may appear to ſome, it is nevertheleſs a genuine account, and on that ſcore I flatter myſelf may not entirely be unintereſting to others.

When reflecting on the ſtate of ſlavery altogether,

* A *ſamboe* is between a mulatto and a negro.

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while my ears were ſtunned with the clang of the whip, and the diſmal yells of the wretched negroes on whom it was exerciſed, from morning till night; and conſidering that this might one day be the fate of the unfortunate mulatto I have been deſcribing, ſhould ſhe chance to fall into the hands of a tyrannical maſter or miſtreſs, I could not help execrating the barbarity of Mr. D. B. for having withheld her from a fond parent, who by beſtowing on her a decent education and ſome accompliſhments, would probably have produced, in this forſaken plant, now expoſed to every rude blaſt without protection, an ornament to civilized ſociety.

I became melancholy with theſe reflections; and in order to counterbalance, though in a very ſmall degree, the general calamity of the miſerable ſlaves who ſurrounded me, I began to take more delight in the prattling of my poor negro boy Quacoo, than in all the faſhionable converſation of the polite inhabitants of this colony: but my ſpirits were depreſſed, and in the ſpace of twenty-four hours I was very ill indeed; when a cordial, a few preſerved tamarinds, and a baſket of fine oranges, were ſent by an unknown perſon. This firſt contributed to my relief, and loſing about twelve ounces of blood, I recovered ſo far, that on the fifth I was able, for change of air, to accompany a Captain Macneyl, who gave me a preſſing invitation to his beautiful coffee plantation, called Sporkeſgift, in the Matapaca Creek.

Having mentioned tamarinds, I will, before we proceed

on

Sprig of the Tamarind Tree.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 179[illegible], by J. Johnson, S.t Pauls Church Yard.

on our journey, embrace the opportunity of introducing a ſhort deſcription of them. The tree on which this fruit is produced is about the ſize of a large apple-tree, and is very ſtrait, and covered with a browniſh-coloured bark; the twigs are ſlender, arched, and knotty, producing leaves and a pod, which will be beſt known by the annexed repreſentation, where *A* is the leaf of the *natural* ſize; *B* the extremity of the branch; *C* the fruit green and unripe; *D* the pulp, which is brown when in perfection; and *E* the purple kernels or ſtones that are incloſed within it. The upper part of the leaves are a darker green than underneath: upon the whole, they form a very agreeable ſhade, on which account the tamarind-trees are frequently planted in groves. CHAP. V.

The male and female ſpecies bear a remarkable diſtinction in their colour; that of the firſt having the deepeſt hue.

I ſhall not preſume to be minute with reſpect to the medicinal qualities of theſe or any other vegetable in Guiana, which are as amply as I believe juſtly deſcribed by Dr. Bancroft, in his letters to Dr. Pitcairn, Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians in London, except in mentioning ſuch efficacy as I have found them to poſſeſs by my own experience, and which conſiſts in the pulp; which when preſerved is a moſt delicious refreſhment in hot climates: it is a laxative, and when diſſolved with water, makes a very cooling and agreeable beverage, and

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is much recommended in all diſeaſes, particularly in fevers.

We now ſet out from Paramaribo for Sporkeſgift, in a tent-boat or barge, rowed by eight of the beſt negroes belonging to Mr. Macneyl's eſtate; every body, as I have already mentioned, travelling by water in this colony.

Theſe barges I cannot better deſcribe than by comparing them with thoſe that accompany what is uſually ſtyled the Lord Mayor's Show on the river Thames. They are, however, ſomewhat leſs, though ſome are very little inferior in magnificence, and are often decorated with gilded flags, filled with muſicians, and abound in every convenience. They are ſometimes rowed by ten and even by twelve oars, and being lightly built, ſweep along with aſtoniſhing celerity. The rowers never ſtop, from the moment they ſet out till the company is landed at the place of deſtination; but continue, the tide ſerving or not, to tug night and day, ſometimes for twenty-four hours together, ſinging a chorus all the time to keep up their ſpirits. When their labour is over, their naked bodies ſtill dripping with ſweat, like poſt-horſes, they headlong, one and all, plunge into the river to refreſh themſelves:—

"The wanton courſer thus, with reins unbound,
"Breaks from his ſtall, and beats the trembling ground;
"Pamper'd and proud, he ſeeks the wonted tides,
"And laves in height of blood his ſhining ſides."

We

View of the Estate Alkmaar, on the River Commewine.

Representation of a Tent Boat, or Plantation Barge.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

We now paſſed a number of fine plantations, but I could not help taking particular notice of the Cacao eſtate, called *Alkmaar*, ſituated on the right ſide in rowing up the river Comewina, which is no leſs conſpicuous for its beauty than for the goodneſs of its proprietor, the invaluable lady the widow Godefroy, whoſe humanity and friendſhip muſt always be remembered by me with gratitude. CHAP. V.

At our arrival on the eſtate Sporkeſgift, I had the pleaſure to be the ſpectator of an inſtance of juſtice which afforded me the greateſt ſatisfaction.

The ſcene conſiſted in Mr. Macneyl's turning the overſeer out of his ſervice, and ordering him to depart from the plantation in an inferior boat, called a *ponkee* *, to Paramaribo, or wherever he thought proper; which was inſtantaneouſly put in execution. The cauſe of his diſgrace was having, by bad uſage and cruelty, cauſed the death of three or four negroes. His departure was made compleatly joyful to all the ſlaves, by an holiday, which was ſpent in feſtivity, by dancing and clapping hands on a green before the dwelling-houſe windows.

The overſeer's ſentence was the more ignominious and galling, as at the time of receiving it a negro foot-boy, who was buckling his ſhoes, was ordered back, and he was deſired to buckle them himſelf. The ſpirited conduct of this planter, the joy of his negroes, the ſalubrity of the

* A *ponkee* is a flat-bottomed boat of four or ſix oars, ſomething like a ſquare-toed ſhoe: ſometimes it has a tilt, and ſometimes not.

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country air, and the hoſpitable manner in which we were entertained at his eſtate, had ſuch an effect on my conſtitution and my ſpirits, that on the ninth I returned, if not recovered, at leaſt greatly benefited, to Paramaribo. But I ſhould be guilty of partiality, did I not relate one inſtance, which throws a ſhade over the humanity even of my friend Macneyl.

Having obſerved a handſome young negro walk very lamely, while the others were capering and dancing, I inquired into the cauſe of his crippled appearance; when I was informed by this gentleman, that the negro having repeatedly run away from his work, he had been obliged to hamſtring him, which operation is performed by cutting through the large tendon above one of the heels. However ſevere this inſtance of deſpotiſm may appear, it is nothing when compared with ſome barbarities which the taſk I have undertaken will oblige me, at the expence of my feelings, to relate.

On our return to the town of Paramaribo, the only news that occurred conſiſted in a few ſhocking executions; alſo that the Boreas man of war, Captain Van-de-Velde, had ſailed for Holland; and that Colonel Forgeoud had on the eighth, the Prince of Orange's anniverſary, entertained a large company with a ball *en militaire*, in the officers guard-room. The muſic on this occaſion conſiſted of two fiddlers only, who had the conſcience to make the colonel pay one hundred and twenty Dutch florins for roſin and catgut.

About

About this time I was attacked by a diſtemper called the *prickly heat*, by the coloniſts *rootvont*. It begins by the ſkin taking a colour like ſcarlet, (occaſioned by a number of ſmall pimples) and itching inconceivably; under the garters, or any place where the circulation is impeded, the itching is almoſt inſupportable.

With this peſt all new-comers from Europe are ſoon infeſted; the cure is to bathe the parts with the juice of limes and water, as for the bites of gnats or muſquitoes. The prickly heat is ſuppoſed to be a prognoſtic of good health by the inhabitants; which I have reaſon to think true, ſince from that period my health and ſpirits were perfectly re-eſtabliſhed, and I was once more as happy as Paramaribo could make me.

At this time Colonel Fourgeoud ſet out with a barge, to inſpect the ſituation of the rivers Comewina and Cottica, in caſe the actual ſervice of our troops ſhould ſoon be wanted; being at his departure ſaluted by the guns from Fort Zelandia, and by thoſe of the ſhips in the roads. This compliment I acknowledge aſtoniſhed me, after the coolneſs which took place, and was now rooted, between this gentleman and the governor of the colony.

As we were ſtill in a ſtate of inaction, I made another excurſion, with a Mr. Charles Ryndorp, who rowed me in his barge to five beautiful coffee eſtates, and one ſugar plantation, in the Mattapaca, Paramarica, and Werapa Creeks; the deſcription of which I muſt defer to another occa-

ſion;

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ſion; but on one of which, called Schovnort, I was the witneſs to a ſcene of barbarity which I cannot help relating.

The victim of this cruelty was a fine old negro ſlave, who having been as he thought undeſervedly ſentenced to receive ſome hundred laſhes by the lacerating whips of two negro-drivers, in the midſt of the execution pulled out a knife, which, after having made a fruitleſs thruſt at his perſecutor the overſeer, he plunged up to the haft in his own bowels, repeating the blow till he dropped down at the tyrant's feet. For this crime he was, being firſt recovered, condemned to be chained to the furnace which diſtils the *kill-devil**, there to keep in the intenſe heat of a perpetual fire night and day, being bliſtered all over, till he ſhould expire by infirmity or old age, of the latter of which however he had but little chance. He ſhewed me his wounds with a ſmile of contempt, which I returned with a ſigh and a ſmall donation: nor ſhall I ever forget the miſerable man, who, like Cerberus, was loaded with irons, and chained to everlaſting torment. As for every thing elſe I obſerved in this little tour, I muſt acknowledge it to be elegant and ſplendid, and my reception hoſpitable beyond my expectation: but theſe Elyſian fields could not diſſipate

* *Kill-devil* is a ſpecies of rum which is diſtilled from the ſcum and dregs of ſugar cauldrons. This is much drunk in this colony, and the only ſpirits allowed the negroes; many Europeans alſo, from a point of œconomy, make uſe of it, to whom it proves no better than a ſlow but fatal poiſon.

the

the gloom which the infernal furnace had left upon my mind. CHAP. V.

Of the coffee eſtates, that of Mr. Sims, called Limeſhope, was the moſt magnificent, and may be deemed with juſtice one of the richeſt in the colony. We now once more, on the ſixth of April, returned ſafe to Paramaribo, where we found the Weſterlingwerf man of war, Captain Craſs, which had arrived from Plymouth in thirty-ſeven days, into which port he had put to ſtop a leak, having parted company with us, as already mentioned, off Portland, in the end of December 1772. This day, dining at the houſe of my friend, Mr. Lolkens, to whom I had been, as I have ſaid, recommended by letters, I was an eye witneſs of the unpardonable contempt with which negro ſlaves are treated in this colony. His ſon, a boy not more than ten years old, when ſitting at table, gave a ſlap in the face to a grey-headed black woman, who by accident touched his powdered hair, as ſhe was ſerving in a diſh of kerry. I could not help blaming his father for overlooking the action; who told me, with a ſmile, that the child ſhould no longer offend me, as he was next day to ſail for Holland for education; to which I anſwered, that I thought it almoſt too late. At the ſame moment a ſailor paſſing by, broke the head of a negro with a bludgeon, for not having ſaluted him with his hat.—Such is the ſtate of ſlavery, at leaſt in this Dutch ſettlement!

About this time, Colonel Fourgeoud made a ſecond excurſion, and now departed with a barge, to explore the

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banks and ſituation of the river Surinam, as he had before done thoſe of Rio Comewina and Rio Cottica.

At this time died Captain Barends, one of the maſters of the tranſports, which were ſtill kept in commiſſion, in caſe they ſhould be wanted for our return to Europe. Five or ſix ſailors now were buried every day, belonging to the merchant ſhips, whoſe lamentable fate I cannot paſs by unnoticed, being actually uſed worſe than the negroes in this ſcorching climate, where, beſides rowing large flat-bottomed barges up and down the rivers, day and night, for coffee, ſugar, &c. and being expoſed to the burning ſun and heavy rains, and beſides ſtowing the above commodities in a hold as hot as an oven, they are obliged to row every upſtart planter to his eſtate at a call, which ſaves the gentleman ſo many negroes, and for which they receive in return nothing—many times not ſo much as a mouthful of meat and drink; palliating hunger and thirſt, by begging from the ſlaves a few bananas or plantains, eating oranges and drinking water, which in a little time relieves them from every complaint, by ſhipping them off to eternity. In every part of the colony they are no better treated, but, like horſes, they muſt (having unloaded the veſſels) drag the commodities to the diſtant ſtore-houſes, being bathed in ſweat, and bullied with bad language, ſometimes with blows; while a few negroes are ordered to attend, but not to work, by the direction of their maſters, which many would willingly do to relieve the drooping ſailors, to whom this uſage muſt be exceedingly

diſheartening

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difheartening and galling. The planters even employ thofe men to paint their houfes, clean their fafh-windows, and do numberlefs other menial fervices, for which a feaman was never intended. All this is done to fave the work of their negroes; while by this ufage thoufands are fwept to the grave, who in the line of their profeffion alone might have lived for many years; nor dare the Weft India Captains to refufe their men, without incurring the difpleafure of the planters, and feeing their fhips rot in the harbour without a loading;—nay, I have heard a failor fervently wifh he had been born a negro, and beg to be employed amongft them in cultivating a coffee plantation.

I now took an early opportunity to enquire of Mrs. Demelly what was become of the amiable Joanna; and was informed that her lady, Mrs. D. B. had efcaped to Holland on board the Boreas man-of-war, under the protection of Captain Van-de-Velde, and that her young mulatto was now at the houfe of her aunt, a free woman, whence fhe expected hourly to be fent up to the eftate Fauconberg, friendlefs, and at the mercy of fome unprincipled overfeer appointed by the creditors, who had now taken poffeffion of the plantation and ftock, till the whole fhould be fold to pay the feveral fums due to them by Mr. D. B.—Good God!—I flew to the fpot in fearch of poor Joanna: I found her bathed in tears.—She gave me fuch a look—ah! fuch a look!—From that moment I determined to be her protector againft every infult, and perfevered, as fhall be feen in the fequel.—Here, reader, let my youth, blended with extreme fenfibility, plead my

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excuſe; yet aſſuredly my feelings will be forgiven me—by thoſe few only excepted—who delight in the *prudent* conduct of Mr. *Incle*, to the hapleſs and much-injured *Yarico* at Barbadoes.

I next ran to the houſe of my friend Lolkens, who happened to be the adminiſtrator of Fauconberg eſtate; and aſking his aſſiſtance, I intimated to him my ſtrange determination of purchaſing and educating Joanna.

Having recovered from his ſurprize, after gazing at me ſilently for ſome time, an interview at once was propoſed; and the beauteous ſlave, accompanied by a female relation, was produced trembling in my preſence.

Reader, if you have peruſed the tale of *Lavinia* with pleaſure, though the ſcene admits of no compariſon, reject not the hiſtory of Joanna with contempt.—It now proved to be ſhe who had privately ſent me the cordial and the oranges in March, when I was nearly expiring, and which ſhe now modeſtly acknowledged "was in "gratitude for my expreſſions of compaſſion reſpecting "her ſad ſituation;" with ſingular delicacy, however, ſhe rejected every propoſal of becoming mine upon any terms. She was conſcious, ſhe ſaid, "that in ſuch a ſtate "ſhould I ſoon return to Europe, ſhe muſt either be "parted from me for ever, or accompany me to a part "of the world where the inferiority of her condition "muſt prove greatly to the diſadvantage of both herſelf "and her benefactor, and thus in either caſe be miſer-"able." In which ſentiments Joanna firmly perſiſting, ſhe was immediately permitted to withdraw, and return to the houſe of her aunt; while I could only intreat of

Mr.

Mr. Lolkens his generous protection for her, and that ſhe might at leaſt for ſome time be ſeparated from the other ſlaves, and continue at Paramaribo; and in this requeſt his humanity was induced to indulge me. CHAP. V.

On the 30th the news arrived, that the *rangers*, having diſcovered a rebel village, had attacked it, and carried off three priſoners, leaving four others dead upon the ſpot, whoſe right hands, chopped off and barbecued or ſmoke-dried, they had ſent to the governor of Paramaribo as a proof of their valour and fidelity.

On receiving this intelligence, Colonel Fourgeoud immediately left the river Surinam, where he ſtill was, and on the firſt of May returned to town, in expectation of his regiment being employed on actual ſervice, but there the buſineſs ended; and we ſtill, to our utter aſtoniſhment, were allowed to linger away our time, each agreeably to his own peculiar fancy. On the 4th of May, the rangers however were reviewed in the Fort Zelandia, at which ceremony I was preſent, and muſt confeſs that this corps of black ſoldiers had a truly manly appearance: warriors whoſe determined and open aſpect could not but give me the ſatisfaction of a ſoldier in beholding them. They here once more received the thanks of the governor for their manly behaviour and faithful conduct, particularly at the taking of *Boucon*; beſides which, they were entertained with a rural feaſt, at the public expence, at Paramaribo, to which were alſo invited their families; and at which feaſt ſeveral reſpectable people of both ſexes made their appearance with pleaſure, to witneſs the happineſs of their ſable friends, the day being

CHAP. V. ſpent in mirth and conviviality, without the leaſt diſturbance, nay even with decorum and propriety, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants.

The Weſterlingwerf, Captain Craſs, now left the river alſo, bound for Holland, but firſt for the colony of Demerary. Thus both ſhips of war having ſailed without us, there was ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe we were ſoon to be employed on actual ſervice. There were many motives, indeed, for wiſhing either that this might be the caſe, or that we might ſpeedily be permitted to return to Europe. Not only our officers, but our privates, began to feel the debilitating effects of the climate, and many, of that continued debauchery ſo common in all ranks in this ſettlement: and as hard labour and bad treatment conſtantly killed the poor ſailors, ſo now our common ſoldiers fell the victims of idleneſs and licentiouſneſs, and died frequently ſix or ſeven in a day; whence it is evident to demonſtration, that all exceſſes, of whatever kind, are mortal to Europeans in the climate of Guiana.

But men will give leſſons which they do not themſelves obſerve. Thus, notwithſtanding my former reſolution of living retired, I again relapſed into the vortex of diſſipation. I became a member of a drinking club, I partook of all polite and impolite amuſements, and plunged into every extravagance without exception. I did not, however, eſcape without the puniſhment I deſerved. I was ſeized ſuddenly with a dreadful fever; and ſuch was its violence, that in a few days I was no more expected to recover. In this

ſituation

ſituation I lay in my hammock until the 17th, with only a ſoldier and my black boy to attend me, and without any other friend: ſickneſs being univerſal among the new-comers to this country, and every one of our corps having ſo much to do to take care of themſelves, neglect was an inevitable conſequence, even among the neareſt acquaintance. This, however, is a cenſure which does not apply to the inhabitants, who perhaps are the moſt hoſpitable people on the globe to Europeans. Theſe philanthropiſts not only ſupply the ſick with a variety of cordials at the ſame time, but crowd their apartments with innumerable condolers, who from morning till night continue preſcribing, inſiſting, bewailing, and lamenting, friend and ſtranger without exception; and this laſts until the patient becomes delirious, and expires. Such muſt inevitably have been my caſe, between the two extremes of neglect and importunity, had it not been for the happy intervention of poor Joanna, who one morning entered my apartment, to my unſpeakable joy and ſurprize, accompanied by one of her ſiſters. She informed me that ſhe was acquainted with my forlorn ſituation; that if I ſtill entertained for her the ſame good opinion, her only requeſt was, that ſhe might wait upon me till I ſhould be recovered. I indeed gratefully accepted her offer; and by her unremitting care and attention had the good fortune ſo far to regain my health and ſpirits, as to be able, in a few days after, to take an airing in Mr. Kennedy's carriage.

§ Till

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Till this time I had chiefly been Joanna's friend; but now I began to feel I was her captive. I renewed my wild propofals of purchafing, educating, and tranfporting her to Europe; which, though offered with the moft perfect fincerity, were, by her, rejected once more, with this humble declaration:

"I am born a low contemptible flave. Were you to "treat me with too much attention, you muft degrade "yourfelf with all your friends and relations; while "the purchafe of my freedom you will find expen-"five, difficult, and apparently impoffible. Yet though "a flave, I have a foul, I hope, not inferior to that of "an European; and blufh not to avow the regard I "retain for you, who have diftinguifhed me fo much "above all others of my unhappy birth. You have, "Sir, pitied me; and now, independent of every other "thought, I fhall have pride in throwing myfelf at your "feet, till fate fhall part us, or my conduct become "fuch as to give you caufe to banifh me from your pre-"fence."

This fhe uttered with a down-caft look, and tears dropping on her heaving bofom, while fhe held her companion by the hand.

From that inftant this excellent creature was mine;—nor had I ever after caufe to repent of the ftep I had taken, as will more particularly appear in the courfe of this narrative.

I cannot

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I cannot omit to record, that having purchafed for her prefents to the value of twenty guineas, I was the next day greatly aftonifhed to fee all my gold returned upon my table; the charming Joanna having carried every article back to the merchants, who cheerfully returned her the money.

"Your generous intentions alone, Sir, (fhe faid) were "fufficient: but allow me to tell you, that I cannot help "confidering any fuperfluous expence on my account "as a diminution of that good opinion which I hope you "have, and will ever entertain, of my difinterefted dif-"pofition."

Such was the language of a flave, who had fimple nature only for her inftructor, the purity of whofe fentiments ftood in need of no comment, and thefe I was now determined to improve by every care.

I fhall now only add, that a regard for her fuperior virtues, fo fingular amongft her caft, gratitude for her particular attention to me, and the pleafure of producing to the world fuch an accomplifhed character under the appearance of a flave, could alone embolden me to rifk the cenfure of my readers, by intruding on them this fubject: let this be my apology, and if it be accepted but by few, I fhall not be inclined to complain.

In the evening I vifited Mr. Demelly, who, with his lady, congratulated me on my recovery from ficknefs; and at the fame time, however ftrange it may appear to many readers, they, with a fmile, wifhed me joy of

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what, with their usual good-humour, they were pleased to call my conquest; which, one of the ladies in company assured me, while it was perhaps censured by some, was applauded by many, but she believed in her heart *envied* by all.—A decent wedding, at which many of our respectable friends made their appearance, and at which I was as happy as any bridegroom ever was, concluded the ceremony; with which I shall beg leave to conclude a chapter, which, methinks I hear many readers whisper, had better never had a beginning.

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Account of a dreadful Execution—Fluctuating State of political Affairs—Short Glimpse of Peace—An Officer shot dead; his whole Party cut to Pieces, and the general Alarm revived throughout the Colony.

ON the 21st of May our Lieutenant Colonel Lantman died, and a number of our officers lay sick. Instead of gaiety and dissipation, disease and mortality now began to rage amongst us; and the devastation increased from day to day among the private men, in a most alarming proportion. The remains of the deceased officer were interred with military honours, in the centre of the Fortress Zelandia, where all criminals are imprisoned, and all field officers buried. At this place I was not a little shocked, to see the captive rebel negroes and others clanking their chains, and roasting plantains and yams upon the sepulchres of the dead; they presented to my imagination, the image of a number of diabolical fiends in the shape of African slaves, tormenting the souls of their European persecutors. From these gloomy mansions of despair, on this day, seven captive negroes were selected, who being led by a few soldiers to the place of execution, which is in the Savannah, where the sailors and soldiers are interred, six were hanged, and one broken alive upon the rack, with an iron

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bar; befides which a white man was fcourged before the court houfe, by the public executioner, who is in this country always a black. The circumftance which led me to take particular notice of this affair, was the fhameful injuftice of fhewing a partiality to the European, who ought to have been better informed, by letting him efcape with only a flight corporal punifhment; while the poor uneducated African for the fame crime, viz. ftealing money out of the Town Hall, loft his life under the moft excruciating torments, which he fupported without heaving a figh or making a complaint; while one of his companions with the rope about his neck, and juft on the point of being turned off, uttered a laugh of contempt at the magiftrates who attended the execution. I ought not in this place to omit, that the negro who flogged the white man inflicted the punifhment with the greateft marks of commiferation. Thefe tranfactions almoft induced me to decide between the Europeans and Africans in this colony, that the firft were the greater barbarians of the two—a name which tarnifhes Chriftianity, and is beftowed on them in too many corners of the globe, with what real degree of juftice I will not take on me to determine.

Having teftified how much I was hurt at the cruelty of the above execution, and furprized at the intrepidity with which the negroes bore their punifhment, a decent looking man ftepped up to me, "Sir, (faid he) you "are but a new-comer from Europe, and know very little "about

" about the African ſlaves, or you would teſtify both leſs " feeling and ſurprize. Not long ago, (continued he) I " ſaw a black man ſuſpended alive from a gallows, by " the ribs, between which, with a knife, was firſt made " an inciſion, and then clinched an iron hook with " a chain; in this manner he kept alive three days, " hanging with his head and feet downwards, and catch- " ing with his tongue the drops of water (it being in " the rainy ſeaſon) that were flowing down his bloated " breaſt. Notwithſtanding all this he never complained, " and even upbraided a negro for crying while he was " flogged below the gallows, by calling out to him—You " man?—*Da cay faſy?* Are you a man? you behave like " a boy. Shortly after which he was knocked on the " head by the commiſerating ſentry, who ſtood over him, " with the butt end of his muſket."—" Another negro, " (ſaid he) I have ſeen quartered alive; who, after four " ſtrong horſes were faſtened to his legs and arms, and " after having had iron ſprigs driven home underneath " every one of his nails on hands and feet, without a mo- " tion, he firſt aſked a dram, and then bid them pull away, " without a groan; but what afforded us the greateſt en- " tertainment, (continued he) were the fellow's jokes, " by deſiring the executioner to drink before him, in caſe " there ſhould chance to be poiſon in the glaſs, and bid- " ding him take care of his horſes, leſt any of them " ſhould happen to ſtrike backwards. As for old men " being broken upon the rack, and young women roaſted

" alive

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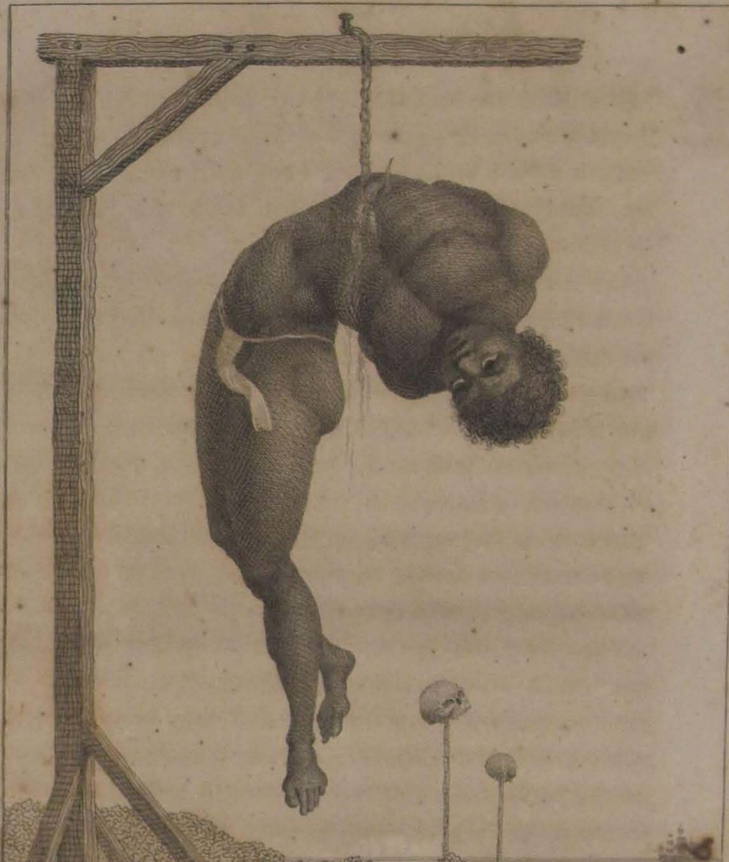
"alive chained to ſtakes, there can nothing be more "common in this colony."—I was petrified at the inhuman detail; and breaking away with execrations from this diabolical ſcene of laceration, made the beſt of my way home to my own lodgings.

On the 24th, having received a ſupply of proviſions from Holland, and abſolutely doing no ſervice in the colony, it was univerſally reſolved that we ſhould proceed home; our regiment, notwithſtanding its being partly paid by the United Provinces, ſtill being exceedingly chargeable to the ſociety and the inhabitants, who, in conjunction, paid all other expences; thus, in the hopes of ſailing in the middle of June, the tranſports were ordered a ſecond time to wood, water, and make all other neceſſary preparations.

I muſt ſay nothing of what I felt on this occaſion; I continued, however, not long in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe; for the following day intelligence being brought that a plantation was demoliſhed, and the overſeers murdered by the rebels, our ſtay was prolonged a ſecond time, at the requeſt of the governor himſelf and inhabitants; and, in conſequence, the three tranſports, which had ſince February the 9th been kept waiting at a great expence, were finally put out of commiſſion, and the proviſions ſtowed at the head-quarters in a temporary ſtore-houſe erected for that purpoſe.

The minds of the people began now to be quieted, finding at laſt that the troops were in earneſt preparing for



Blake Sculp.

A Negro hung alive by the Ribs to a Gallows.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1792, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

II

for actual ſervice, a circumſtance greatly, indeed, to be lamented as to the occaſion, but certainly much better for the colony, than to let the regiment linger away an idle life at Paramaribo. CHAP. VI.

Thus our warlike preparations for ſome days proceeded, and our marines appeared in excellent ſpirits; when again, on the 7th of June, to our unutterable ſurprize, we were for the third time officially acquainted, that things ſeeming quiet, and preſuming that tranquillity was at laſt re-eſtabliſhed, the colony of Surinam had no farther occaſion for our ſervices; theſe fluctating councils did not fail to produce much diſcontent among the military, as well as the inhabitants; and cabals were formed, which threatened to break out into a civil conteſt.

Some charged the governor with being jealous of the unlimited power which was veſted in Colonel Fourgeoud, who was alſo by many others blamed as abuſing that power, and as not treating the governor with that civility, which he might have evinced without leſſening his own conſequence. Thus, while one party acknowledged us to be the bulwark of the ſettlement, by keeping the rebels in awe, the oppoſition heſitated not to call us the locuſts of Egypt, who were come to devour the fruits of the colony.

Without entering into the merits of the queſtion, it is ſufficient to ſay, that our life was rendered very uncomfortable, and a great number of us could not help thinking,

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that between the two parties we were but ill treated. This ſame day, while at dinner on board a Dutch veſſel in the roads, the company were alarmed by the moſt tremendous claps of thunder I ever heard in my life. On our ſide of the continent, ſeveral negroes and cattle were killed by lightning; while, on the other ſide, nearly at the ſame time, the city of Guatimala, in Old Mexico, was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, by which eight thouſand families are ſaid to have inſtantly periſhed.

On the 11th, the ſhips, being taken again into commiſſion, were ordered with all poſſible expedition to prepare for our final departure, and every one was making himſelf ready for the voyage.

Being thus apparently diſengaged from military ſervice, I received a polite invitation from a Mr. Campbel, who was lodged with a Mr. Kerry at my friend Kennedy's, to accompany him on a viſit to the iſland of Tobago, where I might recruit my debilitated health and dejected ſpirits. His plan was to return with me by the Leeward Iſlands to Europe. It was, indeed, to me a moſt agreeable offer, all things conſidered, and I ſhould certainly with pleaſure have accepted it, had not my application to Colonel Fourgeoud been prevented by a freſh alarm, which was received on the 15th. The ſubſtance of this was no leſs, than that an officer of the Society troops had been ſhot dead by the rebels, and his whole party, conſiſting of about thirty men, entirely cut to pieces. So alarming a piece of intelligence could not fail to throw the whole

colony once more into the utmoſt confuſion and conſternation; the above gentleman, whoſe name was Lepper, and only a lieutenant, was in a great meaſure the cauſe of this misfortune, by his impetuoſity and intrepidity, totally unregulated by temper or conduct *; but as this cenſure in general terms may appear ſevere, it becomes in ſome degree incumbent on me to relate the particulars. CHAP. VI.

The period when this unhappy event took place, was that which, in the language of the colony, is termed the *ſhort-day ſeaſon*. During this, Mr. Lepper having been informed that between the rivers Patamaca and Upper Cormootibo, a village of negroes had been diſcovered by the rangers ſome time before; he determined with his ſmall party, which was only a detachment from the Patamaca poſt, to ſally through the woods and attack them. But the rebels being apprized of his intentions by their ſpies, which they conſtantly employ, immediately marched out to receive him; in his way they laid themſelves in ambuſh, near the borders of a deep marſh, through which the ſoldiers were to paſs to the rebel ſettlement. No ſooner had the unfortunate men got into the ſwamp and up to their arm-pits, than their black enemies ruſhed out from under cover, and ſhot them dead at their leiſure in the water,

* This gentleman formerly belonged to the life-guards in Holland, from which he fled, after thruſting his antagoniſt through the heart with his ſword in a duel.

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while they were unable to return the fire more than once, their ſituation preventing them from re-loading their muſquets. Their gallant commander, being imprudently diſtinguiſhed by a gold-laced hat, was ſhot through the head in the firſt onſet. The few that ſcrambled out of the marſh upon the banks were immediately put to death in the moſt barbarous manner, except five or ſix, who were taken priſoners and carried alive to the ſettlement of the rebels. The melancholy fate of theſe unfortunate men, I ſhall, in a proper place, deſcribe, as I had it ſince from thoſe that were eye-witneſſes of it.

The intelligence had ſcarcely reached Paramaribo, than the whole town was in a tumult; ſome parties were ſo vehement that they were ready to tear the governor and council to pieces, for having diſmiſſed Colonel Fourgeoud with his regiment; while others ingenuouſly declared, that if we were intended for no further uſe than we had hitherto been, our company might without regret be diſpenſed with. All this could not but be exceedingly galling to our officers, who wiſhed nothing more than to be employed on actual ſervice for the advantage of the colony. On the other ſide, moſt bitter lampoons were ſpread through the town againſt the governor and his council; libels of ſuch a black and inflammatory nature, that no leſs than a thouſand gold ducats were offered as a reward for the diſcovery of their author, with a promiſe of concealing the name of the informer if he required it: but the whole was to no purpoſe, and neither author nor

informer made their appearance; the general clamour however ſtill continuing, the governor and council were forced a third time to petition us to remain in Surinam, and to protect the diſtracted colony. To this petition we once more condeſcended to liſten, and the ſhips were actually a third time put out of commiſſion. CHAP. VI.

We, however, ſtill continued doing nothing, to the unſpeakable ſurprize of every perſon concerned: the only part on duty, hitherto, having conſiſted of a ſubaltern's guard at the head-quarters, to protect the chief, his colours, his ſtore-houſes, pigs and poultry, which guard regularly mounted every day at half paſt four o'clock, and another on board the tranſports, until the proviſions had been ſtowed on ſhore in the magazines. This, a few field-days excepted, when the ſoldiers were drilled for pompalone in a burning ſun till they fainted, comprehended the whole of our military manœuvres. But I perceive the reader is already impatient for ſome information reſpecting theſe two extraordinary men, who, from their inveteracy and oppoſition to each other, as well as from other cauſes, were the authors of theſe unaccountable and fluctuating proceedings; and the outlines of theſe two characters may perhaps aſſiſt in unravelling the myſtery.

As the ingredients of flattery or fear make but a ſmall part of that man's compoſition who preſumes to give them, and who pretends perfectly to have known both,

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the reader may depend on having them painted in their true original colours, however ſtrong the ſhades.

Governor Nepſeu was ſaid to be rather a man of ſenſe than of learning, and was wholly indebted to his art and addreſs, for having riſen to his preſent dignity from ſweeping the hall of the court-houſe. By the ſame means he was enabled, from nothing, to accumulate a fortune, by ſome computed at no leſs than eight thouſand pounds ſterling annually, and to command reſpect from all ranks of people, no perſon ever daring to attack him but at a diſtance. His deportment was affable, but ironical, without ever loſing the command of his temper, which gave him the appearance of a man of faſhion, and rendered his influence almoſt unbounded. He was generally known by the appellation of Reynard, and was moſt certainly a fox of too much artifice to be run down by all the hounds in the colony.

Colonel Fourgeoud was almoſt exactly the reverſe of this portrait. He was impetuous, paſſionate, ſelf-ſufficient, and revengeful: he was not cruel to individuals, but was a tyrant to the generality, and cauſed the death of hundreds by his ſordid avarice and oppreſſion. With all this he was partial, ungrateful, and confuſed; but a moſt indefatigable man in bearing hardſhips and in braving dangers, not exceeded by Columbus himſelf, which, like a true buccaneer, he ſuſtained with the moſt heroic courage, patience, and perſeverance. Though unconquerably

conquerably harſh and ſevere to his officers, he was however not wanting in affability to the private ſoldiers. He had read, but had no education to aſſiſt him in digeſting what he read. In ſhort, few men could talk better, but on moſt occaſions few could act worſe.

Such were the characters of our commanders, while the oppoſition of two ſuch men to each other could not fail to produce unhappineſs to the troops, and operated as a ſufficient cauſe for the fluctuating ſtate of political affairs in this dejected colony.

As we ſtill continued totally inactive, I am neceſſarily deprived of the pleaſure of relating any of our hero's warlike atchievements.—To relieve the ſameneſs of the narrative, I therefore take the liberty of deſcribing one of his favourites.—This was no other than a bird called the *toucan*, and in Surinam *banarabeck* or *cojacai*, either from its bill having ſome reſemblance to that fruit, or from its being accuſtomed to feed on it, and perhaps from both. This animal the colonel kept hopping tame amongſt his poultry.

The toucan is not larger than a tame pigeon, and yet its beak is no leſs than ſix inches in length, if not more. It is ſhaped like a jackdaw, carrying its tail almoſt perpendicular, except when it flies: its colour is black, except a little white under the throat and breaſt, which is bordered with red in the form of a creſcent reverſed, and a few feathers above and under its tail, ſome white and ſome crimſon. The head is large, with a blueiſh ring

round

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round the eyes, of which the iris is yellow, and its aſh-coloured toes are much like thoſe of a parrot. Its remarkable beak deſerves the moſt particular attention, which is ſerrated, and of a ſize utterly diſproportioned to its body. This beak, however, which is arched, is as thin as parchment, and conſequently very light; it is yellow on the top, and on the ſides of a beautiful deep orange, incloſing a tongue which bears a ſtrong reſemblance to a feather. The toucan feeds on fruit, eſpecially pepper, and is very domeſtic.

I ſhall here alſo take the opportunity to deſcribe another tame bird, which I ſaw with pleaſure at the houſe of Mr. Lolkens, and which I take to be what we call the fly-catcher; they denominate it in this country *ſun-fowlo*, becauſe when it extends its wings, which it frequently does, there appears, on the interior part of each wing, the moſt beautiful repreſentation of a ſun. This bird is about the ſize of a woodcock, and of a golden colour, but ſpeckled; its legs are very long, and alſo its ſlender bill, which is perfectly ſtrait, and very pointed. With this it darts at the flies while they creep, with ſuch wonderful dexterity and quickneſs, that it never miſſes the object, which ſeems to conſtitute its principal food; and this property renders it both uſeful and entertaining. This bird might, with ſome degree of propriety, be ſtyled the perpetual motion, its body making a continual movement, and its tail keeping time like the pendulum of a clock.

Having

The Toucan & the Fly-catcher.

Having defcribed thefe two contrafts in appearance, I muft add, that neither they, nor any of thofe birds in Guiana which are remarkable for their beautiful plumage, ever fing with any degree of melody, three or four perhaps excepted, whofe notes are fweet, but not varied. Of thefe I fhall fpeak at a proper opportunity.

> " ———————— For Nature's hand,
> " That with a fportive vanity has deck'd
> " The plumy nations, there her gayeft hues
> " Profufely pours. But if fhe bids them fhine,
> " Array'd in all the beauteous beams of day,
> " Yet, frugal ftill, fhe humbles them in fong."

One bird more I fhall only mention in this place, which may be confidered as the rival of the mock-bird, *viz.* the *Caribbean wren*. This bird, which is called by the Surinam colonifts *Gado fowlo*, or the bird of God, probably from its familiarity, inoffenfivenefs, and its delightful mufic, is rather larger than the Englifh wren, which in its plumage it much refembles; it frequently perches upon the window-fhutters with the familiarity of the robin. From its enchanting warbling, it has been honoured by many with the name of the South American nightingale.—But to proceed with my narrative.

On the 21ft died Mr. Renard, one of our beft furgeons, who was buried the fame afternoon, a procefs quite neceffary in this hot country, where putrefaction fo inftantaneoufly takes place, and more efpecially when the

patient

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patient dies of a putrid fever, which is in this country extremely frequent. This dreadful diſeaſe firſt appears by bilious vomiting, lowneſs of ſpirits, and a yellowiſh caſt of the countenance and eyes; and unleſs proper remedies be immediately applied, the diſtemper becomes fatal, and certain death in a few days is the conſequence. The belly-hatty, or dry-gripes, by ſome compared to the Devonſhire cholic, is alſo a common complaint in this country, and not only cauſes excruciating pains, but is exceedingly dangerous. This alſo had now attacked a great number of our people. As to the cauſes of this diſorder I can give no account. The prevailing ſymptom is an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, which they endeavour to remove by a quantity of caſtor oil taken internally, and alſo injected by the rectum.

It was, indeed, lamentable to obſerve the ſtate to which we were already reduced, from a corps of the fineſt, healthieſt young men that ever ſailed from Europe, with blooming freſh complexions, now changed to the ſallow colour of a drum-head. It was no alleviation of the calamity to reflect, that all this waſte of life and health had been hitherto to no purpoſe; though ſome perſons choſe to report, that the whole was no more than a political ſcheme to have another regiment added to the war-eſtabliſhment in Holland, as Colonel De Salve's marines had been before: but to this others gave but very little credit.

Of the hoſpitality of the country at leaſt we could not complain,

complain, ſince this was actually one of the principal ſources of our misfortunes, and we were likely in a few months to be careſſed to death by the civilities of the men, and the kindneſs of the ladies: a circumſtance which rendered Surinam a real *Capua* to theſe brave fellows.

On the 27th of June, the gentleman-like Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Gerſdorph died, much regretted indeed by every perſon; while the grim King of Terrors, conſcientiouſly beginning at the head of the corps with the field officers, could not fail to afford ſome conſolation to the inferior gentry who ſucceeded to their places, by the appointment of Colonel Fourgeoud, the commander in chief, who himſelf exhibited as yet no ſymptoms of mortality. Major Becquer was now made lieutenant-colonel, and a Captain Rockaph advanced to the rank of major.

The European animals that live in this country are no leſs debilitated and diminutive than the human ſpecies. The oxen, for inſtance, are very ſmall *, and their beef not near ſo delicate as it is in Europe, owing probably to their perpetual perſpiration, and the coarſeneſs of the graſs on which they feed, which is not ſo good as that of the ſalt marſhes in Somerſetſhire. On the banks of the Oronoque the oxen run wild, and are ſold by the Spaniards for two dollars per head. A ſingle piece of ready-

* This I am aſtoniſhed to ſee contradicted by Dr. Bancroft, who ſays they improve in South America, while one bullock of Smithfield market aſſuredly weighs down two of the largeſt in Guiana.

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roasted beef is often sent from Europe to Guiana as a most valuable and delicate present. The manner of preserving the meat for this long voyage, when roasted, is by putting it in a block-tin box or cannister; then filling up the empty space with gravy or dripping till it is perfectly covered over; after which the box must be made fast and soldered round about, so that neither air nor water can penetrate: by this means I was told it may be with safety carried round the globe.

The sheep in this country are so small that, when skinned, they seem not larger than young lambs in Whitechapel market; they have no horns nor wool, but strait hair, and are to an European but very indifferent eating: the more so, since all beef, mutton, &c. must be consumed the same day that it is killed, which causes it to eat tough, while keeping it longer exposes it to putrefaction. Neither of these animals are natural to Guiana: the breed has been imported from the Old Continent. So also was the breed of the hog, but with far better success; for these animals, in my opinion, thrive better in South America than in Europe. The hogs here are large, fat, good, and plentiful; as in England, they feed on almost every thing that is eatable, and on the estates are often fattened with green pineapples, a fruit which grows spontaneously in this climate, and of which they are exceedingly fond. As for the poultry, nothing can thrive better; the common fowls are here as good and as plenty as in any country, but

smaller,

ſmaller, and their eggs differ in ſhape, being more ſharp-pointed. A ſmaller ſpecies of the dunghill kind, with rumpled inverted feathers, ſeems natural to Guiana, being reared in the inland parts of the country by the Indians or natives. The turkeys are very fine, and ſo are the geeſe, but the ducks are excellent, being of the large Muſcovy ſpecies, with crimſon pearls betwixt the beak and the head: theſe are here juicy, fat, and in great plenty.

After the various delays we had experienced, the reader will be ſurprized to learn that the hour of action at laſt arrived, and all the officers and men were ordered to be ready at a minute's warning to ſet out on actual ſervice, though our little corps was already melted down from five hundred and thirty able men to about three-fourths of that number, by death and ſickneſs, the hoſpital being crouded by invalids of every kind. The loſs of ſo large a proportion of men was ſupplied in a manner that will appear extraordinary to a European.

There were two negroes, one called *Okera*, the other *Gowſary*, two deſperadoes, who had both been rebel captains in the colony of Berbice, and who, for taking *Atta* their chief, and delivering him to the governor of that ſettlement, had received their pardon. By theſe two men the moſt inhuman murders had been committed on the Europeans in the year 1762, when the revolt was in the above colony. Theſe were now admitted as private

CHAP. VI. ſoldiers in our regiment, and were Colonel Fourgeoud's greateſt favourites.

Before we left Paramaribo, I had an opportunity of ſeeing two very extraordinary animals of the aquatic kind; the one was in Mr. Roux's cabinet of curioſities, and is called in the colony *jackee*, in Latin, *rana piſcatrix*. This fiſh is about eight or ten inches long, without ſcales, exceeding fat and delicate, as I can teſtify by experience, and is found in all narrow creeks and marſhy places. But what is extremely remarkable is, that this creature, however incredible it may appear, abſolutely changes to a perfect frog, but not from a frog to a fiſh, as Merian, Zeba, and ſome random hiſtorians (among whom I am ſorry to name Weſtley) have been pleaſed to aſſert; and of this truth I was at this time fully ſatisfied, by ſeeing the above animal diſſected, and ſuſpended in a bottle with ſpirits; when the two hinder legs of a very ſmall frog made their appearance, growing inſide from that part of the back to which uſually the inteſtines are fixed. I neverthelcſs humbly preſume to ſuppoſe, in this caſe, that the jackee is neither more nor leſs than a kind of tadpole, which grows to a large ſize before it undergoes the uſual transformation.

The other animal I ſaw at the houſe of my friend Kennedy: this is what Dr. Bancroft calls the torporific, and others the electrical eel, and which Dr. Firmyn ſuppoſes to poſſeſs the ſame qualities with the torpedo.

This

This wonderful animal is of a lead-blue colour, formed in a great meaſure like an eel, with one large fin that runs below from head to tail, not unlike the keel of a ſhip. It lives only in freſh water: its length is called by ſome three feet, and by others is aſſerted to be not leſs than four or five times as much *. When this animal is touched by the hand, or any rod of metal or hard wood, it communicates a ſhock, the impulſe of which produces the ſame effect as electricity; and Dr. Firmyn has even aſſured me, that the ſhock of this electrical eel has been communicated to him through the bodies of eight or ten people, who ſtood hand in hand for the purpoſe of trying the experiment.

For my own part, all that I can ſay concerning this animal is, that I ſaw it in a tub full of water, where it appeared to be about two feet long; that I threw off my coat, and having turned up my ſhirt-ſleeves, tried about twenty different times to graſp it with my hand, but all without effect, receiving juſt as many electrical ſhocks, which I felt even to the top of my ſhoulder, to the great entertainment of Mr. Kennedy, to whom I loſt a ſmall wager on the occaſion. The electrical eel ſwims forward or backward at pleaſure, it may be eaten with the greateſt ſafety, and is even by many people thought delicious.

It has been ſaid, that this animal muſt be touched with both hands before it gives the ſhock, but this I muſt

* Mr. Greenwood, of Leiceſter Fields, has told me himſelf that he killed one of eleven feet long.

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take the liberty of contradicting, having experienced the contrary effect: it is alſo alledged, that they have been found in Surinam above twenty feet long, but one of that length never yet came within the ſcope of my obſervation; nor have I ever heard of any perſon being killed by them, according to the account which is given by the ſame author, Alexander Gardon, M. D. F. R. S. in a letter to John Ellis, Eſq. dated Charleſtown, South Carolina, Auguſt 14th, 1774.

It is a painful circumſtance, that the narrative of my travels muſt ſo frequently prove the record of cruelty and barbarity: but once for all I muſt declare, that I ſtate theſe facts merely in the hope that it may, in ſome mode or other, operate for their future prevention. Before my departure, I was informed of a moſt ſhocking inſtance of depravity, which had juſt occurred. A Jeweſs, impelled by a groundleſs jealouſy, (for ſuch her huſband made it appear) put an end to the life of a young and beautiful Quadroon girl, by the infernal means of plunging into her body a red-hot poker. But what is moſt incredible, and what indeed will ſcarcely be believed in a civilized country, is, that for this moſt diabolical crime the murdereſs was only baniſhed to the Jew-Savannah, a village which I ſhall afterwards deſcribe, and condemned in a trifling fine to the fiſcal or town-clerk of the colony.

Another young negro woman, having her ancles chained ſo cloſe together that ſhe could ſcarcely move her

feet,

feet, was knocked down with a cane by a Jew, and beaten till the blood ſtreamed out of her head, her arms, and her naked ſides. So accuſtomed, indeed, are the people of this country to tyranny and inſolence, that a third Iſraelite had the impudence to ſtrike one of my ſoldiers, for having made water againſt his garden-fence. On this miſcreant I took revenge for the whole fraternity, by wreſting the offending weapon out of his hand, which I inſtantly broke into a thouſand pieces on his guilty naked pate.

I neverthelefs was juſt enough to flog another man out of the regiment, for picking a Jew's pocket: and, to their credit be it mentioned, that ſo jealous are the Dutch ſoldiers of what they call a point of honour, that were a thief to be known, and kept in the ranks, the whole regiment would lay down their arms. This etiquette is of great utility, and would be no bad practice to be introduced into ſome other armies, where a thief is too often accounted as good as another, if he is ſo fortunate as to be ſix feet high.

About this time Colonel Fourgeoud iſſued the following orders, *viz.* that in caſe it ever happened that two officers, or under-officers, of equal rank, the one of the European the other of the Society corps, ſhould meet on any military duty, the firſt ſhould always take the command, independent of ſeniority, unleſs the latter bore a higher commiſſion.

We

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We now ſeriouſly prepared for victory or death, on board the wooden walls of the Colony, which conſiſted of half a dozen crazy old ſugar barges, ſuch as are uſed by the colliers in the Thames, being only roofed over with boards, which gave them the appearance of ſo many coffins; and how well they deſerved this name, I am afraid will too ſoon appear by the number of men they buried.

On the firſt of July were diſpatched for the river Comewina, one captain, two ſubalterns, one ſerjeant, two corporals, and eighteen men. Of this captain, I cannot help mentioning a very ſingular circumſtance—the firſt day we landed in this colony, having entered the lodging on which he was billetted, his landlady declared ſhe ſhould ever pride herſelf in ſhewing all the civility in her power to either marines or naval officers, as ſhe owed her life to one of them, who had ſome years before picked her up in an open boat with ſeveral others, after they had been toſſed about ſixteen days without either compaſs, ſail, or proviſions, a little ſea-biſcuit and water excepted, on the Atlantic ocean. To avoid circumlocution, this very gentleman, whoſe name was Tulling Van Older Barnevelt, proved to be the individual officer who had ſaved her from the jaws of death, as he at that time belonged to the navy, being a lieutenant of a Dutch man of war.

This ſame day we alſo diſpatched another barge with two ſubalterns, one ſerjeant, one corporal, and fourteen men,

men, commanded by Lieutenant Count Randwyck, to the river Pirica; and in the evening, having entertained ſome ſelect friends in my houſe, I bade farewell to my Joanna, to whoſe care I left my all; and herſelf to the protection of her mother and aunt, with my directions for putting her to ſchool until my return: after which, I at laſt marched on board, with four ſubalterns, two ſerjeants, three corporals, and thirty-two men under my command, to be divided into two barges, and bound for the upper part of the river Cottica.—

> Now my Mulatto caſt a mournful look,
> Hung on my hand, and then dejected ſpoke;
> Her boſom labour'd with a boding ſigh,
> And the big tear ſtood trembling in her eye.

The above barges were all armed with ſwivels, blunderbuſſes, &c. and provided with allowance for one month: their orders were (that which went to the Jews Savannah excepted) to cruize up and down the upper parts of the rivers, each barge having a pilot, and rowed by negro ſlaves, ten of which were on board of each for the purpoſe, and which made my complement, including my black boy Quaco, exactly ſixty-five, thirty-five of which embarked with myſelf. With this ſhip's company was I now ſtowed in my hen-coop; while on board of my lieutenant's barge the crew conſiſted of twenty-nine only, and conſequently were leſs cowded

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I muſt take notice that from our firſt landing in Surinam till this time our private men were paid in *ſilver* coin, which the captains had propoſed to exchange for card money, at the rate of ten *per cent.* gain for them; by which the poor fellows would have benefited between two and three hundred pounds ſterling *per annum*, to buy refreſhment: but Colonel Fourgeoud inſiſted they ſhould continue to receive their little pittance in coin, which in ſmall ſums was of no more value than paper; and I thought unaccountably hard, ſince this was hurting the whole, without profit to one ſingle individual. One thing more I muſt remark, which is, that all the officers who were now proceeding upon duty continued to pay at the meſs, which coſt each captain at the rate of forty pounds; but for which, in his barge, he was to receive in proviſions after the rate of ten pounds (thus he loſt thirty pounds; and theſe proviſions were ſalt beef, pork, and peaſe) on an equal footing with the private ſoldiers, a few bottles of wine excepted. But certainly ſome greater indulgence was due, and I muſt ſay neceſſary, to officers, who were going to be ſtationed where abſolutely no kind of refreſhment was to be had, being ſurrounded by the moſt horrid and impenetrable woods, beyond the hearing of a cannon-ſhot from any port or plantation whatever. This was not the caſe with the other barges, who were ſtationed in the midſt of peace and plenty, being within view of the moſt beautiful eſtates. We were indeed pitied

by

by all ranks without exception; who forefeeing our approaching calamities, crouded my barge with the beft commodities they had to prefent, which they infifted upon my accepting. But the reader will have a better idea of the liberality of my benefactors from the following lift, than from any encomiums which I could pafs upon it:

24 Bottles of beft claret,	6 Bottles of mufcadel,
12 Ditto of Madeira,	2 Gallons of lemon-juice,
12 Ditto of Englifh porter,	2 Gallons of ground coffee,
12 Ditto of Englifh cyder,	2 Large Weftphalia hams,
12 Ditto of Jamaica rum,	2 Salted bullocks tongues,
2 Large loaves of white fugar,	1 Bottle of Durham muftard,
2 Gallons of brandy,	6 Dozen of fpermaceti candles.

From this fpecimen the reader will eafily perceive, that if fome of the inhabitants of the colony of Surinam fhew themfelves the difgrace of the creation, by their cruelties and brutality, others, by their hofpitality and focial feelings, approve themfelves an ornament to the human fpecies.—With this inftance of virtue and generofity, I therefore conclude this chapter; and truft I fhall ever be found more ready to record the good actions of my fellow-creatures, than to remark their defects.

CHAP. VII.

Armed Barges are ſent up to defend the Rivers—Deſcription of the Fortreſs New Amſterdam—A Cruiſe in the upper Parts of Rio Cottica and Patamaca—Great Mortality among the Troops—View of the Military Poſt at Devil's Harwar.

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ON the third of July, 1773, at four o'clock in the morning, the fleet caſt off from their moorings, and with the ebb tide rowed down as far as the fortreſs New Amſterdam, where, being wind and tide bound, we dropped anchor off the battery.

It may not be improper, in this place, to deſcribe the dreſs of our marines, which was blue turned up with ſcarlet, ſhort jackets, and leather caps. They carried a muſquet, ſabre, and piſtols; a large wallet or knapſack acroſs one ſhoulder, and their hammocks ſlung over the other. While in the woods, they wore trowſers and check ſhirts, with ſhort linen frocks, as moſt adapted to the climate.

Having firſt reviewed both my ſhip's companies, *viz.* four ſubalterns, two ſerjeants, three corporals, thirty-two privates, two pilots, twenty negroes, and my black boy Quaco; and having placed the arms, conſiſting of blunderbuſſes, ſwivels, &c. ſtowed the luggage, and ſlung the hammocks, I peruſed my orders, which were to cruiſe

up

Blake Sculp.

A private Marine of Col. Fourgeoud's Corps.

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up and down Rio Cottica, between the Society poſts, La Rochel at Patamaca, and Slans Welveren above the laſt plantation, to prevent the rebels from croſſing the river, to ſeize or kill them if poſſible, and protect the eſtates from their invaſions: in all which operations I was to be aſſiſted, if neceſſary, by the troops of the Society on the above poſts, with whom I was alſo to deliberate on the proper ſignals to be given in caſe of an alarm.

Having now time and opportunity, I viſited the fortreſs called New Amſterdam.

This fortification was began in the year 1734, and finiſhed in 1747. It is built in the form of a regular pentagon, with five baſtions, being about three Engliſh miles in circumference, ſurrounded by a broad foſſe, which is ſupplied from the river, and defended by a covert way, well paliſadoed. Its foundations are a kind of rocky ground; and its principal ſtrength by water a large bank of mud off the point, ſupported by a ſtrong battery of cannon, which prevents even flat-bottomed veſſels from making any approach in that quarter; and by croſſing the fire of the guns with the oppoſite redoubts, Leyden and Purmerent, it protects the entry of both the rivers, Surinam and Comewina, as I have ſaid before: it has, beſides, powder-magazines and victualling-offices, and is well provided with all the other neceſſary buildings for the uſe of a ſtrong garriſon. There are even a corn-windmill, and a ciſtern which will hold

above

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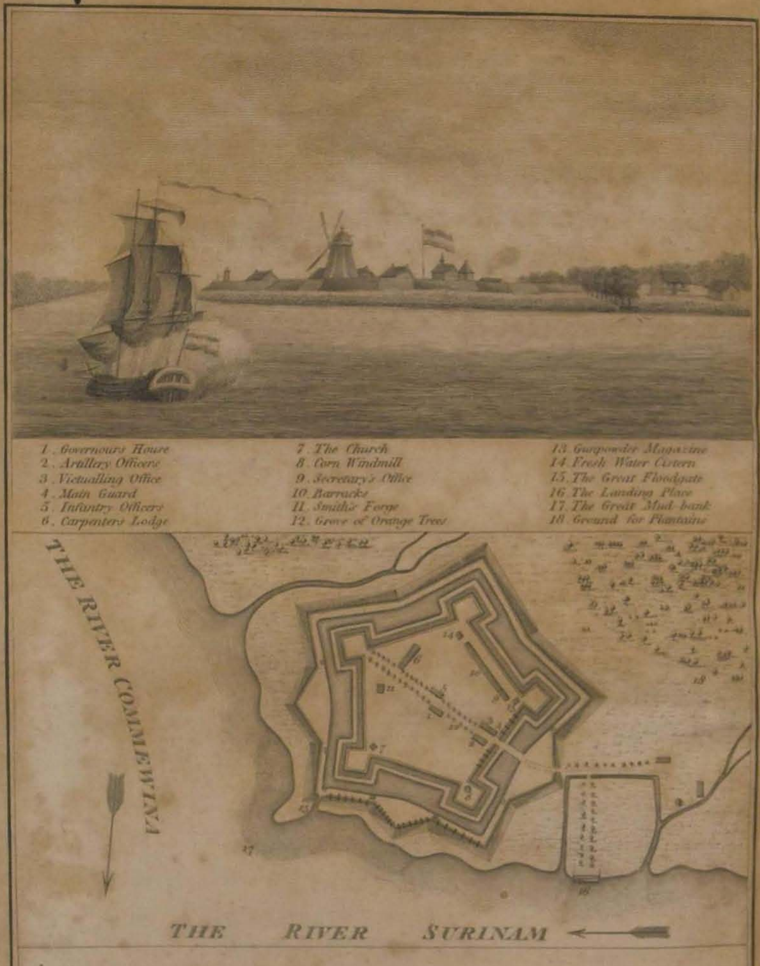
above a thoufand hogfheads of water. This in fact is no more than neceffary; fince, according to my opinion, it will take the whole army of Surinam to defend fo large an extent for any length of time. Adjoining to the fortrefs is alfo a large fpot of ground, well ftocked with plantains, yams, &c. in order to feed the Society flaves, which are kept here, at the colony's expence, to work at the fortifications, under the infpection of a proper overfeer.

In this fort is generally ftationed a fmall garrifon, commanded by an officer of the artillery, which obliges all veffels whatever to bring-to, fhew their colours, and falute them with feven guns each, the compliment being anfwered with three guns from the battery, and the hoifting of a flag on the ramparts. I fhall only add, that this fortrefs is, on the north-eaft fide, furrounded with bogs and impenetrable bufhes, and that the fpot was, from thefe circumftances, formerly called the Tyger's Hole.

Having defcribed fort New Amfterdam, I cannot leave it without taking notice of fome very remarkable fifh, which are always feen in great quantities near this town, and which have actually four eyes, fwimming conftantly with two above and two under the water. Thefe fifhes are about the fize of a fmelt, and fwim in fhoals with incredible velocity; they feem principally to delight in brackifh water, are accounted no bad eating, and are called *coot-eye* by the inhabitants of the colony.

This



View & Plan of the Fortress called Amsterdam.

T. Conder Sculp.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Paul's Church Yard.
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This evening my sentinel being insulted by a row-boat, which damned him, and spoke of the whole crew in the most opprobrious terms, I immediately manned the canoe, and gave chace; but by the help of hoisting a small sail, and the intervention of a dark night, the rogue, who kept course towards Baram's Point, had the good fortune to escape my resentment.

On the fourth of July, in the morning, we weighed anchor; and having doubled the Cape, rowed with the flood till we arrived before Elizabeth's Hope, a beautiful coffee plantation, where the proprietor, Mr. Klynhams, inviting us on shore, shewed us every civility in his power, and loaded my barge with refreshing fruits, vegetables, &c. He told us that he pitied our situation from his heart, and foretold the miseries we were going to encounter, the rainy season being just at hand, or indeed having already commenced, by frequent showers, accompanied with loud claps of thunder. "As for the "enemy," said he, "you may depend on not seeing one "single soul of them; they know better than to make "their appearance openly, while they may have a chance "of seeing you from under cover: thus, Sir, take care "to be upon your guard—but the climate, the climate "will murder you all. However," continued he, "this "shews the zeal of your commander, who will rather "see you killed, than see you eat the bread of idleness "at Paramaribo."—This pleasant harangue he accompanied with a squeeze by the hand. We then took our

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leave, while the beautiful Mrs. Dutry, his daughter, ſhed tears at our departure.—This evening we anchored before the Matapaca Creek.

I here created my two barges men of war, and named them the *Charon* and the *Cerberus*, by which names I ſhall diſtinguiſh them during the reſt of the voyage; though the *Sudden Death* and *Wilful Murder* were much more applicable, as will be ſeen. We now continued rowing up the river Cottica, having paſſed, ſince we entered Rio Comewina, ſome moſt enchantingly beautiful eſtates of coffee and ſugar, which line the banks of both theſe rivers, at the diſtance of one or two miles from each other.

My crew having walked and dreſt their dinner aſhore on the plantation l'Avanture, we anchored, on the evening of the 5th, before Rio Pirica.

On the following day we rowed ſtill further up the river Cottica, and went on ſhore on the eſtate Alia. At all the above plantations we were moſt hoſpitably received, but we met with fewer plantations as the river grew narrower.

On the 7th we continued our courſe, and having walked aſhore on the eſtate Bockkeſtyne, being the laſt plantation up the river Cottica on the right, except one or two ſmall eſtates in Patamaca, at night we caſt anchor at the mouth of Coopman's Creek. This day the Charon was on fire, but happily it was ſoon extinguiſhed.

On the 8th, we again kept rowing upwards, and at eleven o'clock A. M. caſt anchor off the fort Slans Wel-

veren, which was guarded by the troops of the Society. CHAP. VII.
Here I ſtepped on ſhore, with my officers, to wait on Captain Orzinga, the commander, and delivered three of my ſick men into his hoſpital; where I beheld ſuch a ſpectacle of miſery and wretchedneſs as baffles all imagination: this place having been formerly called *Devil's Harwar*, on account of its intolerable unhealthineſs—a name by which alone I ſhall again diſtinguiſh it, as much more ſuitable than that of Slans Welveren, which ſignifies the welfare of the nation.

Here I ſaw a few of the wounded wretches, who had eſcaped from the engagement in which Lieutenant Lepper, with ſo many men, had been killed; and one of them told me the particulars of his own miraculous eſcape:— "I was ſhot, Sir," ſaid he, "with a muſquet-bullet in "my breaſt; and to reſiſt or eſcape being impoſſible, as "the only means left me to ſave my life I threw myſelf "down among the mortally wounded, and the dead, "without moving hand or foot. Here in the evening "the rebel chief, ſurveying his conqueſt, ordered one of "his captains to begin inſtantly to cut off the heads of "the ſlain, in order to carry them home to their village, "as trophies of their victory: this captain, having al- "ready chopped off that of Lieutenant Lepper, and one "or two more, ſaid to his friend, *Sonde go ſleeby, caba* "*mekewe liby den tara dogo tay tamara*; The ſun is juſt "going to ſleep, we muſt leave thoſe other dogs till to-

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"morrow. Upon ſaying which (continued the ſoldier) "as I lay on my bleeding breaſt, with my face reſting "on my left arm, he, dropping his hatchet into my "ſhoulder, made the fatal wound you ſee, of which I "ſhall perhaps no more recover.—I however lay quite "ſtill. They went away, carrying along with them "the mangled heads of my comrades, and five or ſix "priſoners alive, with their hands tied behind their "backs, of whom I never ſince have heard. When all "was quiet, and it was very dark, I found means, on my "hands and feet, to creep out from among the carnage, "and get under cover in the foreſt, where I met another "of our ſoldiers, who was leſs wounded than myſelf; "with whom, after ten days wandering, in torment and "deſpair, without bandages, not knowing which way to "proceed, and only one ſingle loaf of black bread for "our ſubſiſtence, we at laſt arrived at the military poſt "of Patamaca, emaciated, and our putrefied wounds full "of live worms."

I gave the miſerable creature half-a-crown; and having agreed with Captain Orzinga upon the ſignals, we left this peſt-houſe, and ſtepping on board my man of war, rowed up till we arrived before a creek, called Barbacoba, where we once more came to an anchor.

On the following day we continued to row farther up the river, till we came before the Cormoetibo Creek, where we moored the fleet, as being my head

ſtation,

ſtation, by Colonel Fourgeoud's command. Here we ſaw nothing but water, wood, and clouds; no trace of humanity, and conſequently the place had a moſt diſmal, ſolitary appearance.

On the 10th I detached the Cerberus to her ſtation, *viz.* Upper Patamaca; for which place ſhe rowed immediately, with a long liſt of paroles, according to my orders, but which were never of any ſervice.

We now tried to cook the victuals on board; our furnace was a large tub filled with earth, and we ſucceeded, at the expence of having almoſt ſcalded one of my men to death, and at the hazard of ſetting the barge once more on fire. As we had no ſurgeon along with us, this office fell to my lot; and, by the help of a ſmall cheſt of medicines, I performed ſo well, that in a few days the ſcalded marine recovered.

To prevent, however, a ſimilar accident again, I ſought an opening in the creek above-named, which having found not very far from the mouth, I ordered my negroes to build a ſhed, and my men to dreſs their victuals below it, placing ſentinels around them to prevent a ſurprize, and in the evening we returned to our ſtation. This cooking we continued to perform every day, until the fourteenth, when we rowed down to Barbacoba.

Here we built another ſhed on the 15th, for the ſame purpoſe; and then, the rain already beating through my decks, we rowed down to Devil's Harwar for repair, where I put one of my negroes ſick in the hoſpital.

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On the 16th, I got my deck caulked and payed, and ſent an account of our arrival to Colonel Fourgeoud.

On the 17th, we returned to Cormoetibo Creek, having loſt an anchor among the roots of the mangrove-trees that on both ſides line the banks of all the rivers in the colony. Theſe trees are of two ſpecies, the red and the white, but the former is that of which I now ſpeak: it riſes from a number of roots that ſhew themſelves above ground for ſeveral feet before they are joined together, and form the trunk, which is both large and tall; the bark is grey on the outſide, but the inſide is red, and uſed for tanning leather. The wood is reddiſh, hard, and good for building and other purpoſes; but the moſt remarkable property of this tree is, that from its extended branches, and even its trunk, deſcend thouſands of ligneous ſhoots, like the ropes of a ſhip, which dropping to the earth, take root and again re-aſcend, forming for a great circumference an impenetrable thicket, while, like ſo many props, they keep the tree ſteady in all weathers. The white mangrove is found moſtly in places more diſtant from the water.

This evening my ſentinel, when it was very dark, called out that he ſaw a negro, with a lighted tobacco-pipe, croſs the Cormoetibo Creek in a canoe. We loſt no time in leaping out of our hammocks; but were not a little mortified, when one of my ſlaves declared it was no more than a fire-fly on the wing—which actually was the caſe.

Theſe

Theſe inſects are above an inch long, with a round patch under the belly, of a tranſparent greeniſh colour, which in the dark gives a light like a candle: its eyes are alſo very luminous, and by the light of a couple of theſe flies one may ſee very well to read ſmall print. There is another ſpecies, which is ſmaller, and only to be obſerved when they fly elevated, at which time they appear like the intermitting ſparks of fire emitted from the forge of a blackſmith.

On the 18th, having nothing elſe to do, I ſhot a bird, which is here called a *tigri-fowlo*, or tiger-bird, but which I take to be of the heron ſpecies; it is about the ſize of a heron, but of a reddiſh colour, covered over with regular black ſpots, from which it has derived its name: its bill, which is long and ſtrait, as alſo the legs and toes, are of a pale green colour, and ſeem to indicate that it lives upon fiſh: the neck is alſo long, from which hangs down a kind of heavy feathers. On the head, which is ſmall, it has a roundiſh black ſpot, and its eyes are a beautiful yellow.

By a water-patrole from the Cerberus I received intelligence this evening, that the men began to be ſickly; and on the following day I was informed, that on the ſpot where we had dreſſed our victuals, in the Cormoetibo Creek, and which is on the rebel ſide of the river, a ſtrong detachment had lately been murdered by the enemy. I therefore ordered the ſhed to be burnt to the ground, and the meat to be dreſſed on board the barges.

Here

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Here all the elements now ſeemed to unite in oppoſing us; the water pouring down like a deluge, the heavy rains forced themſelves fore and aft into the veſſel, where they ſet every thing afloat; the air was infeſted with myriads of muſquitoes, which, from ſun-ſet to ſun-riſing, conſtantly kept us company, and prevented us from getting any ſleep, and left us in the morning beſmeared all over with blood, and full of blotches. The ſmoak of the fire and tobacco, which we burnt to annoy them, was enough to choak us; and not a foot-ſtep of land could we find, where we might cook our ſalt proviſions in ſafety. To all this miſery may be added, that diſcord broke out between the marines and the negroes, with whom, as promiſes or threats had as yet no weight, I was obliged to have recourſe to other means. I tied up the ringleaders of both parties; and after ordering the firſt to be well flogged, and the latter to be horſe-whipped for half an hour, after due ſuſpence and expectation, I pardoned them all without one laſh. This had equally the effect of the puniſhment, and peace was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed; but to prevent approaching diſeaſe was totally out of my power. Not all the golden rules in Doctor Armſtrong's beautiful poem upon health could avail in this ſituation.

We rowed down on the 20th, till we arrived before the Caſepoere Creek, in hopes of meeting ſome relief, but were equally uncomfortable. So very thick were the muſquitoes now, that by clapping my two hands to-

gether, I have actually killed to the number of thirty-eight at one ftroke.

In rowing down to Barbacoeba, we faw one or two beautiful fnakes fwim acrofs the river. In the courfe of our progrefs we occafionally met with a little relief, by ftepping afhore under the fhade. I now had recourfe to the advice of an old negro.—"Caramaca," faid I, "what methods do you take to preferve your health?" —"Swim every day twice or thrice, Sir," faid he, "in the "river. This, Mafara, not only ferves for exercife where "I cannot walk, but keeps my fkin clean and cool; and "the pores being open, I enjoy a free perfpiration. "Without this, by imperceptible filth, the pores are "fhut, the juices ftagnate, and difeafe muft inevitably "follow." Having recompenfed the old gentleman with a dram, I inftantly ftripped and plunged headlong into the river. I had, however, no fooner taken this leap, than he called to me for God's fake to come on board; which having done with much aftonifhment, he reminded me of the alligators, as well as of a fifh which is here called *pery*.—"Both thefe, Sir," faid he, "are exceed-"ingly dangerous, but by following my directions you "will run no hazard. You may fwim entirely naked, "only take care that you conftantly keep in motion; "for the moment you are quiet, you run the rifk of "their fnapping off a limb, or being dragged to the "bottom."

Having

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Having mentioned the alligator, I ſhall take the liberty to offer to the reader (though he cannot but have met with ſome account of this creature in reading different voyages) ſome particulars which I have myſelf obſerved, or of which I have been informed on the beſt authority.

It is an amphibious animal, and found in moſt rivers in Guiana; its ſize is from four to eighteen or twenty feet in length; the tail as long as the body, both of which are on the upper part indented like a ſaw, its ſhape being ſomething like a lizard; the colour on the back is a yellowiſh brown, approaching to black, variegated on the ſides with greeniſh ſhades, the belly being a dirty white; the head is large, with a ſnout and eyes ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of a ſow; the laſt immoveable, and guarded each by a large protuberance or hard knob. The mouth and throat, extremely wide, are beſet with double rows of teeth, that can ſnap almoſt through any bone: it has four feet, armed with claws and hard ſharp-pointed nails. The whole animal is covered over with large ſcales, and a ſkin ſo thick that it is invulnerable, even by a muſquet-ball, except in the head or the belly, where it is moſt liable to be wounded; its fleſh is eaten by the natives, but is of a muſky taſte and flavour, owing it is ſaid to a kind of bags or bladders which are on the inſide of each limb. The alligator lays its eggs on the ſhore to a great number in the ſand, where they are hatched by the ſun, the

males

The Leguana or Iguana Lizard of Guiana.

The Alligator or Cayman of Surinam.

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males eating the greater portion of them. On land this animal is not dangerous for want of activity, but in the rivers, where he is often ſeen lurking for his prey, with his muzzle alone above water, ſomething like the ſtump of an old tree, he is truly tremendous to all that approach him; yet of man, as I have ſeen, he is afraid, during the time he keeps his hands and feet in motion, but no longer. Some negroes even have the courage to attack and vanquiſh the alligator in his own element, notwithſtanding his violent ſtrength and unequalled ferocity, being particularly fond of human fleſh.

The difference between the above animal and the crocodile (which is alſo found in Surinam) conſiſts not merely in the name, but in the ſhape and in the nature alſo, the latter being longer and more ſlender in proportion, and not ſo ferocious; the alligator or cayman (as called by the natives and negroes) is beſides more frequently met with than the crocodile, which partly may be the cauſe of its being ſuppoſed to be more deſtructive. I ſhall only add, that in *Aſia* there is a conſiderable difference to be found upon a nice examination between the above two reptiles, where they are alſo larger than they are in any parts of America.

Had it not been for an accident, theſe creatures would never have been known by any other name than that of crocodile: for had the firſt navigators ſeen any thing more reſembling their form than a lizard, they would have adopted that which the Indians called them by, *viz.*

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the *cayman*; but the Spaniſh ſailors remarking their great reſemblance to that little reptile, they called the firſt of them which they ſaw *lagarto*, or lizard. When our countrymen arrived, and heard that name, they called the creature *a-lagarto*, whence is derived the word *alligato*, or alligator.

The great advantage of ſuch repoſitories of Natural Hiſtory as the Britiſh Muſeum is, that they enable the lover of nature and truth to be ſatisfied by his own eyes of the extraordinary and almoſt incredible productions of nature. In the above-named collection may be ſeen a crocodile, differing in ſome particulars, but chiefly in its dimenſions, from the creatures of the ſame name in other parts of India. Though ſo numerous in *Bengal*, I never heard upon good authority of one much larger than this, which meaſures above twenty-one feet. It was taken in the river *Indus*, but not till it had received on many parts of its body ſeveral three-pound balls, many of which could not penetrate, or produce the leaſt effect againſt his ſcales.

As I cannot ſo eaſily produce my voucher, I muſt pledge my veracity for another ſpecimen, which I have myſelf ſeen; which proves to me that there have been ſome of this ſpecies of more than twice the ſize of that which may be meaſured in the Muſeum.

At *Maeſtricht*, in 1781, I ſaw the head of a crocodile petrified, which had been dug out of Mount *Saint Pierre*: the

the body of which, by calculation, muſt have meaſured above ſixty feet in length.—Query, when, or how, did this animal come *there?* Yet *there* with aſtoniſhment I beheld it, in the poſſeſſion of a prieſt, who ſince ſent it to Paris as a very great curioſity. CHAP. VII.

In Guiana there are ſaid to be lizards of the ſize of five or ſix feet; but that ſpecies which is here called the *iguana*, and by the Indians the *wayamaca*, is ſeldom above three feet long. From the head to the extremity of the tail, it is covered over with ſmall ſcales, reflecting very brilliant colours in the ſun; the back and legs are of a dark blue, the ſides and belly of a yellowiſh kind of green, as alſo the bag or looſe ſkin which hangs under its throat. It is ſpotted in many parts with brown and black, and its eyes are a beautiful pale red, while the claws are of a deep cheſnut colour.

This lizard, like the alligator, has its back and tail indented, both which are formed into a ſharp edge. It lays its eggs in the ſand, and is often ſeen among the ſhrubs and plants, where the Indians ſhoot it with their bows and arrows. Theſe people eſteem its fleſh, which is very white, as a great delicacy; it is ſold dear at Paramaribo, and bought as a dainty by many of the white inhabitants. This creature's bite is extremely painful, but ſeldom attended with bad conſequences.

But to return to my negro Caramaca, I acknowledge his account at firſt diſcouraged me from the

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plan of daily bathing for health; but finding by following his direction that the dangers he reprefented were to be avoided, I refolved to follow it, and derived great benefit from the practice as long as I remained in the colony. This negro alfo advifed me to walk bare-footed and thinly dreffed. "Now is the feafon, "Maffera," faid he, "to ufe your feet to become hard, "by walking on the fmooth boards of the veffel; the "time may come when you will be obliged to do fo for "want of fhoes, in the midft of thorns and briers, as I "have feen fome others. Cuftom," faid he, "Maffera, "is fecond nature: our feet were all made alike. Do fo "as I advife you; and in the end you will thank old "Caramaca. As for being thinly dreffed," continued the negro, "a fhirt and trowfers is fully fufficient; which "not only faves trouble and expence, but the body wants "air, as well as it does water: fo bathe in both when "you have the opportunity."—From that moment I followed his counfels, to which, befides being cleanly and cool, I in a great meafure afcribe the prefervation of my life. I now frequently thought on Paramaribo, where I enjoyed all the delicacies of life; while here I was forced to have recourfe to many expedients much worfe than any favage; yet fhould I not have repined had any perfon profited by our fufferings.—But I am forgetting the articles of war, *viz.* implicitly to obey, and afk no queftions.

Having,

Having, on the 22d, ſent my ſerjeant and one man ſick to the hoſpital at Devil's Harwar, we now rowed again to the head ſtation before Cormoetibo Creek.

Here one of my negroes caught ſome fiſh, amongſt which was the torporific eel already deſcribed, which he dreſſed and eat with his companions; the others were the *pery* and *que-quee*: the *pery* was that mentioned by the old ſlave as dangerouſly rapacious. This fiſh is ſometimes near two feet long, of a flattiſh make, ſcaly, and of a blueiſh colour; the mouth large, and thick ſet with ſharp teeth, which are ſo ſtrong, and the *pery* ſo voracious, that it frequently ſnaps off the feet of ducks when ſwimming, nay even the toes, the fingers, and the breaſts of women. The *que-quee* may be called a fiſh in armour, being covered over from head to tail with brown coloured moveable rings, ſliding the one over the other, and joined like thoſe of a lobſter, which ſerve for its defence in place of ſcales. This laſt is from ſix to ten inches long, with a large head and of a roundiſh ſhape. Both the *pery* and the *que-quee* are very good eating.—But I muſt for ſome time lay aſide the deſcription, and return to my journal.

The 23d, being the day appointed by Captain Orzinga and myſelf for the trial of the ſignals, at twelve o'clock preciſely the whole number of blunderbuſſes and ſwivels were fired at Devil's Harwar on board the Charon, and on board the Cerberus ſtill ſtationed at Patamaca; which proved to be to no purpoſe, no perſon on board either of

the

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the veſſels having been able to hear the report of the guns fired by the other. During this, however, I met with a ſmall accident, by firing myſelf one of the blunderbuſſes, which I placed like a muſquet againſt my ſhoulder; when I received ſuch a ſtroke by its rebounding as threw me backward over a large hogſhead of beef, and had nearly diſlocated my right arm. This however it ſeems was owing to my ignorance of the manner of uſing the blunderbuſs, as I have ſince been informed that all ſuch weapons ought to be fired under the hand, eſpecially when heavy charged; and then by ſwinging round the body ſuddenly, the force of the rebound is broken, and the effect ſcarcely ſenſible. I inſert this only to ſhew in what manner heavy-loaded muſcatoons ought always to be fired; eſpecially ſince, without any aim, the execution from their wide mouth is almoſt equally fatal.

On the 26th, by a canoe that came down from Patamaca, I received intelligence that the Cerberus was in danger of being ſurpriſed by the enemy, who had been diſcovered hovering round about her; and the part of the river where ſhe was moored being very narrow, I conſidered her ſituation as critical. I therefore immediately rowed the Charon up before the Pinneburgh Creek; and having manned the yawl, as being the moſt expeditious, went myſelf, with ſix men, to their aſſiſtance: but was agreeably ſurpriſed at finding the whole to be a falſe alarm. In the evening we returned back to our

our ſtation. In rowing down I was aſtoniſhed at being hailed by a human voice, which begged me for God's ſake to ſtep on ſhore. This I did, with two of my men; when I was accoſted by a poor old negro woman, imploring me to afford her ſome aſſiſtance. It ſeems ſhe was the property of a Jew, to whom belonged the ſpot of ground where I found her, and where the poor creature lived quite alone, in a hut not larger than a dog-kennel, ſurrounded by a wilderneſs, with only a few plantain-trees, yams, and caſſava, for her ſupport. She was no longer of uſe to work on the great eſtate, and was baniſhed here only to ſupport her maſter's right to the poſſeſſion, ſince this ſpot had been ruined by the rebels. Having left with her a piece of ſalt beef, ſome barley, and a bottle of rum, I took my leave, when ſhe offered me in return one of her cats: but this I could not accept, for by this token, I mean upon the information of the cats, my negro rowers firmly inſiſted that ſhe muſt be a witch; which evinces that this ſuperſtition is not confined to Europe.

In this creek, the banks of which on both ſides are covered with mangrove-trees, thorns, and briers, we found floating on the ſurface of the water a kind of large white nut, which ſeemed to have dropped of themſelves by ripeneſs from the ſhell. They are ſweet, criſp, and exceedingly good eating; but I neglected to inquire from what tree they had fallen. A kind of water ſhrub, called the *mocco-mocco*, is here alſo to be found in great quantities.

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quantities. It grows about ſix or eight feet high, thick at bottom, jointed and prickly all the way to the top, where it is very ſmall, and divided into three or four large ſmooth oval leaves, which poſſeſs almoſt the quality of bliſtering by their violent adheſion to the ſkin.

As we approached the Charon in the evening, I found my ſentinel faſt aſleep, which enraged me ſo much, that having quietly entered on board the barge, I fired my piſtol cloſe to his ear, juſt over his head, aſſuring him that I would the next time blow it through his brains: the whole crew flew to their arms, and the poor fellow had nearly leaped into the water. But however it might be neceſſary to threaten in this manner, at a poſt where a ſurprize might be fatal, it would have been exceſſive cruelty to have executed it in ſuch a ſituation, where the bite of the muſquitoes rendered it impoſſible to reckon upon ſleep at ſtated times; and thus the interruption of it at one time made the approach of it unavoidable at another.

We now returned, on the 27th, to Cormoetibo Creek, where my negroes, having been aſhore to cut wood for the furnace, brought on board a poor animal alive, with all its four feet chopped off with the bill-hook, and which lay ſtill in the bottom of the canoe. Having freed it from its torment by a blow on the head, I was acquainted that this was the *ſloth*, called *loyaree* or *heay* by the natives, on account of its plaintive voice. It is about the ſize of a ſmall water-ſpaniel, with a round

The Ai, & the Unau; or the Sheep & Dog Sloth

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head ſomething like that of a monkey, but its mouth is remarkably large; its hinder legs are much ſhorter than thoſe before, to help it in climbing, being each armed with *three* very large and ſharp claws, by which it holds its body on the boughs, but which, as being offenſive weapons, my negroes had ſo cruelly chopped off: its eyes are languid, and its voice is ſqueaking, like that of a young cat. The greateſt particularity of this creature however is, that its motion is ſo very ſlow, that it often takes two days to get up to the top of a moderate tree, from this it never deſcends while a leaf or a bud is remaining; beginning its devaſtation firſt at the top, to prevent its being ſtarved in coming to the bottom, when it goes in queſt of another, proceeding incredibly ſlow indeed while on the ground. Some ſay, that to avoid the pain of exerciſing its limbs, it forms itſelf into a ball, and drops down from the branches: that may be true or not, but this I know to be a fact, that it cannot mend its pace. CHAP. VII.

Of theſe animals there are two ſpecies in Guiana, *viz.* the *Ai* and the *Unau*; but in Surinam diſtinguiſhed by the names of the *Sicapo* and *Dago luyaree*, or the Sheep and the Dog Sloth, on account of their hair; that of the firſt being buſhy, and of a dirty grey, while the other is lank and reddiſh-coloured. This laſt has alſo but *two* claws on each foot, and the head is leſs round than the former. Both theſe creatures, by forming themſelves in a clew, have often more the appearance of excreſcences in the bark, than that of animals feeding upon the fo-

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liage, which frequently prevents them from being difcovered by the natives and negroes, who devour their flefh with avidity.

Now came down from Patamaca, on the 28th, Lieutenant *Stromer*, the commander of the Cerberus, in a burning fever, and fcorched by the fun in an open canoe, drinking cold water from the river as his only relief. In this fituation, a Jew foldier, of the Society poft La Rochelle, accompanied him, with the account that the rebels had actually paffed the creek two days before, one mile above the *laft* eftate, as had been firft reported, *viz.* marching from eaft to weft.—He at the fame time delivered to me a negro woman, with a fucking infant, who had formerly been ftolen by the rebels, and had now found means to make her efcape. From below I received alfo the news, that Major *Medlar* had fent to town from the *Jew Savannah* two dried hands of the enemy, killed by the rangers; that an officer with ten men and fome provifions were landed at Devil's Harwar, there to be under my command; and that one of my marines at that place was dead. The fame difpatches brought an order for me to look out for a dry fpot, and, if poffible, to build a temporary ftorehoufe.

I immediately detached my lieutenant, Mr. *Hamer*, to take the command of the Cerberus, and having weighed anchor, rowed down till I arrived before the Cafepory Creek, where we paffed fuch a night as no pen can defcribe:—The fick groaned, the Jew prayed aloud, the foldiers fwore, the negroes intreated, the

the women ſung, the child ſqueaked, the fire ſmoked, the rains poured down, and the whole veſſel ſtunk to ſuch a degree, that I began to think myſelf but little better off than the unfortunate perſons who were confined in the black hole at Calcutta. At ſix o'clock the next morning, however, the joyful ſun broke through the clouds, and I dropped down with the Charon before Devil's Harwar.

On the 29th, I delivered my ſick officer and five ſick men, beſides my other paſſengers, for whom I had done all that was in my power, but that was very little; and having ſtowed the newly-arrived proviſions in a proper place, I once more returned to my dreadful ſtation, where I came to an anchor on the firſt of Auguſt.

The following day, between the ſhowers, we ſaw great numbers of monkies, of which I ſhot one, and having had no freſh meat for a long time, I ordered it to be dreſſed, and eat it with a good appetite. We were at this time in a ſhocking ſituation, not only wanting refreſhment; but the men's cloaths and hammocks were rotting from day to day, not only from their being almoſt conſtantly wet, but being alſo compoſed of the very worſt materials ſent from Holland.

On the third, I received the account that Lieutenant Stromer was dead at Devil's Harwar.

On the fourth, we dropped down before the place, to bury him directly, in the hope of doing it with decency, but we were diſappointed; for having contrived to make

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a coffin of old boards, the corpſe dropped through it before it reached the grave, and exhibited a ſhocking ſpectacle: we nevertheleſs found means to go through the reſt of the interment with ſome decorum, having covered it over with a hammock by way of a pall; then fired three vollies with all the troops that had ſtrength to carry arms. This being over, I regaled the officers with a glaſs of wine, and once more took a farewell of Devil's Harwar.

On the ſixth, having firſt written to Colonel Fourgeoud, to acquaint him that the rebels had paſſed above La Rochelle, and that I had found a ſpot for a magazine at Barbacoeba, I informed him alſo of the death of my lieutenant, Mr. Stromer; and recommended my ſerjeant, who had been an officer of huſſars, for advancement.

To give the reader ſome idea of this ſpot called Devil's Harwar, I will here take the opportunity to deſcribe it.

This place was formerly a plantation, but is now entirely occupied by the military, who keep here a poſt, to defend the upper parts of the river Cottica. The ſoil is elevated and dry, which makes it the more remarkable that it ſhould be ſo extremely unwholeſome, yet ſuch it certainly is: and here hundreds of ſoldiers have been buried. It lies on the right ſide of the river as you go upwards, and had formerly a path of communication with the river Pirica, on which were a few military guards; but this is now little frequented, and quite overgrown.

The

View of the Post Devil's Harwar, on Rio Cottica.

The Armed Barges, commanded by Capt.n Stedman.

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The buildings on Devil's Harwar are all made of the *pina* or manicole-tree; which tree, and the manner of uſing it for houſes, &c. I ſhall afterwards attempt to deſcribe: but now muſt content myſelf with only ſaying, that on this poſt the buildings conſiſt of a dwelling-houſe for the commanding-officer, with four very good rooms; another for the ſubalterns; a good lodge for the private ſoldiers; and an hoſpital for the ſick, which is large and roomy: but this is no more than is neceſſary, as it never is without inhabitants. There is alſo a powder and victualling magazine, proper kitchens, a bake-houſe, &c. beſides a well with freſh water. The Society troops feed a flock of ſheep, pigs, and poultry at this place, for the uſe only of the hoſpital: here was alſo at this time a cow, which had been allotted for the rangers after Boeccow was taken, but the feaſt had not been kept at this place. She had now a calf, and afforded milk for the officers to their tea, &c. but for us poor fellows in the barges there was nothing at all of the kind. I may add, that ſome of the officers had alſo little gardens here, which afforded them ſallad, &c.

The circumſtance which renders Devil's Harwar ſo unhealthy, in my opinion, is the myriads of muſquitoes that prevent the people from reſt, and the multitudes of *chigoes* or ſand-fleas which abound in that ſtation.

On the ſeventh, I arrived again at Cormoetibo Creek, where I reſolved to make a landing on the ſouth ſhore at all hazards, for my own ſoldiers to cook their beef

and barley; concluding it as well to be ſhot by the enemy at once, as to be gradually conſumed to death on board the Charon. It was, however, a difficult taſk to find the ſmalleſt ſpot for the purpoſe, the whole of that ſhore being ſo very marſhy, and over-grown with every kind of underwood, that we could ſcarcely put our new project in execution; till at laſt, my negroes having made a temporary kind of bridge, to ſtep from the yawl upon a ſmall ſpeck of dry ground, and having formed a ſlight ſhed of manicole-leaves to keep off the rain, we found means to keep in a fire, and were infinitely more comfortable than we were on board the Charon. Our danger in this ſituation, however, was certainly greater than in our former ſtation; ſince an old rebel ſettlement was not very far from this place, which was called Pinneburgh, from a neighbouring creek; though others alledge that it obtained this name from the ſharp pins ſtuck in the ground, like crow-feet, or *cheveux de frize*, with which the rebels had formerly fortified and defended it. Notwithſtanding this village had been demoliſhed, it was well known that the rebels ſtill frequently viſited the ſpot, to pick up ſome of the yams and caſadas (which the ground continued, in its uncultivated ſtate, to produce) for a temporary ſubſiſtence. I was indeed almoſt abſolutely convinced that the rebels, who had lately paſſed above La Rochelle in Patamaca, were at this moment encamped at the above ſpot Pinneburgh, and ready to commit ſome depredations on the eſtates on the

the river Cottica or Pirica, if not to attack ourfelves; on this account I always kept double fentinels round the landing-place, and gave orders that no men fhould be allowed to fpeak or make any kind of noife while on that fpot, in order that we might hear the fmalleft ruftling of a leaf, and fo obviate our danger by vigilance and alacrity. CHAP. VII.

On the 8th my other officer Macdonald fell fick, but refufed to be fent to Devil's Harwar, as he would not fuffer me to be left quite by myfelf.

I have faid that we had no furgeon, but carried with us a parcel of medicines, which confifted of emetics, cathartics, and powders, of which I knew not the proper ufe. At their defire, however, I daily diftributed them to the men, who, loading their ftomachs with heavy falt provifions, and ufing no exercife, had fometimes occafion for art to affift nature. But thefe briny meals of pork and beef, Colonel Fourgeoud infifted were much more wholefome food in a tropical country than frefh provifions; for, by a moft curious theory, he afferted that the latter corrupted in the ftomach by the heat, whereas the others underwent a proper digeftion. Unfortunately for us, there were but few on board either the Cerberus or the Charon, whofe ftomachs were in a ftate to digeft fuch food. I had alfo fome plaifters on board the barge, but thefe were foon expended by the running ulcers, with which the whole crew was covered; and this was eafily accounted for, fince in this climate,

where

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where the air is impregnated with myriads of invifible animalcula, the fmalleft fcratch immediately becomes a running fore. The beft antidote and cure for fuch complaints in this country is lemon or lime acid, but this we had not. The next beft mode of treatment is never to expofe an open wound, or even the fmalleft fcratch, to the air; but the inftant they are received, to cover them with grey paper wetted with fpirits, or any kind of moifture, fo that it may ftick to the fkin. For my own part, no man could enjoy a better ftate of health than I continued to enjoy, wearing nothing but my long trowfers, and checked fhirt loofe at the collar and turned up in the fleeves. Nay, even when the fun was not too hot, I ftripped all together, and twice every day continued to plunge into the water: by thefe means I was always cool and clean; I alfo daily ufed a cheering glafs of wine, having firft hung it a few fathoms under water, which rendered it much more cool and pleafant.

During all thefe hardfhips, I muft not forget the high gratification which was afforded us one day by a few marcufas that we found in this place, which had been left there ftanding ever fince the eftate, many years ago, had been deftroyed. There was indeed but one fingle old tree, I fhould rather fay a fhrub, for the plant which bears them falls more properly under that defcription. This delicious fruit is of an oval form, and of an orange or golden colour; the bloffom refembling the paffion-flower. They are commonly larger, but fome lefs than

a hen's

a hen's egg, and are broken open as one would break an egg; they are then found to inclofe an afh-coloured fucculent jelly, full of fmall feeds. This is fipped out of the fhell, being fweet mixed with acid, of an exquifite flavour, and fo cool that it reminds one of ice marmalade.

Here we remarked a variety of beautiful butterflies, particularly fome of an azure blue, which are exceedingly large, and between the fhowers fkimmed and hovered amongft the green boughs, to which their ultramarine hue, brightened by the fun, bore the moft enchanting contraft: but as I could not catch one of them while I ftaid here, I muft defer the farther defcription to another part of the work.

This evening we heard the found of a drum, which we could fuppofe to be no other than that of the rebels; neverthelefs we determined to continue dreffing our victuals afhore, ftill keeping on our guard, according to the advice of Mr. Klynhams.

On the 9th Mr. Macdonald was much worfe; however, on feeing me receive a letter from Colonel Fourgeoud, he feemed to revive, as we all did, expecting now to be relieved from our horrid fituation. But what was our mortification, at reading that we were ftill to continue on this forlorn ftation! This letter was accompanied by a prefent of fifh-hooks and tackle, to make up for the deficiency of other refrefhments; and, indeed, of falt

 provifions,

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provisions, which began daily to get both worse and less—

Timeo Danæos et dona ferentes.

The receipt of such unwelcome intelligence made the whole crew declare they were sacrificed for no manner of purpose; while the negroes sighed, pronouncing the words, *Ah! poty backera!* Oh! poor Europeans! By the distribution however of a few tamarinds, oranges, lemons, and Madeira wine, which were by this opportunity sent me by my best friend at Paramaribo, I found means to impart, not only to my officers, but also to my drooping soldiers, some relief. But this cheering sun-shine could not last long: and the day following we were as much distressed as ever, when I had once more recourse to the nimble inhabitants of the forest, and brought down two monkies with my gun from the top of the mangroves, where they were sporting in flocks consisting of some hundreds.

On the 11th, I sent two men sick to the hospital, and the same evening we again heard the drums. On the following day, at noon, we were disturbed by a hurricane; the Charon broke loose from her anchors, and was driven ashore, her upper works being terribly damaged by the stumps of trees, &c. that hung over the river, while the water from the clouds broke in upon us like a torrent, and I expected no less than a shipwreck.

On

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On the 15th the other officer, Lieutenant Baron Owen, came down ſick from the Cerberus, and at his requeſt I ventured to ſend him down to Paramaribo. I now received another letter from Colonel Fourgeoud, with a little money for the men to purchaſe refreſhments, where nothing was to be met with: but not a word intimating that we were to be relieved.

On the 20th I received a report, that the Cerberus, having only four private men left, had retired to the poſt at La Rochelle; and, on the 21ſt, I ſent two of my men to her aſſiſtance, and ordered her back to her former ſtation.

I now was myſelf at laſt attacked with a fever, and upon the whole felt myſelf in a truly diſtreſſed condition; deprived by ſickneſs of my two only officers, and my ſerjeant. My men upon the three ſtations (*viz.* the two barges and Devil's Harwar together) melted down to fifteen, from the number of forty-two, without a ſurgeon, or refreſhment, ſurrounded with a black foreſt, and expoſed to the mercy of relentleſs enemies; who muſt be formidable indeed, ſhould they be informed by any means of our defenceleſs ſituation. The remaining few were, with truth, declaring they were doomed to deſtruction; inſomuch, that they could with difficulty be prevented from mutiny, and from proceeding down the river Cottica with the Charon againſt my orders.

For my own part, I was not altogether free from uneaſineſs. In fact, a few troops from all quarters ought

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to have marched againſt the enemy, when they croſſed the Patamaca Creek; that is, from La Rochelle, Devil's Harwar, and the river Pirica; when, being aſſailed at once from three quarters, the rebels might have been, if not entirely routed, at leaſt ſeverely puniſhed for their preſumption: not to ſpeak of the happy effect which ſuch a check muſt have had in ſaving the lives and property of thoſe victims, who, after ſuch incurſions, are generally devoted to their rage.

On the 23d I felt myſelf rather better; and between the fits of the fever ſhot a couple of large black monkies to make ſome broth, to ſupply the want of freſh proviſions: but as the deſtruction of one of theſe animals was attended with ſuch circumſtances, as for ever after had almoſt deterred me from going a monkey-hunting, I muſt beg leave to relate them as they happened:—Seeing me on the ſide of the river in the canoe, the creature made a halt from ſkipping after his companions, and being perched on a branch that hung over the water, examined me with attention, and the ſtrongeſt marks of curioſity: no doubt, taking me for a giant of his own ſpecies; while he chattered prodigiouſly, and kept dancing and ſhaking the bough on which he reſted with incredible ſtrength and agility. At this time I laid my piece to my ſhoulder, and brought him down from the tree into the ſtream;—but may I never again be a witneſs to ſuch a ſcene! The miſerable animal was not dead, but mortally wounded. I ſeized him by the tail, and taking it in both

my hands to end his torment, I fwung him round, and hit his head againft the fide of the canoe; but the poor creature ftill continued alive, and looking at me in the moft affecting manner that can be conceived, I knew no other means to end this murder, than to hold him under water till he was drowned, while my heart felt fick on his account: for his dying little eyes ftill continued to follow me with feeming reproach, till their light gradually forfook them, and the wretched animal expired. I felt fo much on this occafion, that I could neither tafte of him nor his companion, when they were dreffed, though I faw that they afforded to fome others a delicious repaft.

That monkies, efpecially when young, are no bad food, may eafily be accounted for, fince they feed on nothing but fruits, nuts, eggs, young birds, &c.; and indeed, in my opinion, all young quadrupeds are eatable: but when one compares thofe which are killed in the woods to thofe filthy and difgufting creatures that difgrace the ftreets, no wonder that they fhould difguft the leaft delicate ftomach. As for the wild ones, I have eaten them boiled, roafted, and ftewed, and found their flefh white, juicy, and good: the only thing that difgufted me was, their little hands and their heads, which when dreffed, being deprived of the fkin, appeared like the hands and the fkull of a young infant. I have already obferved that there are in Guiana many different fpecies, from the

CHAP. VII. large ourang-outang to the very ſmall ſarcawinkee. The former, however, I never have ſeen, nor heard deſcribed, while I was in this country; as for the latter, I ſhall deſcribe him on another occaſion, and ſhall only, for the preſent, give an account of thoſe which I met with on this cruiſe. That which I ſhot the ſecond inſtant is what is called in Surinam *micoó*: it is nearly the ſize of a fox, and of a reddiſh grey colour, with a black head and very long tail. Thoſe I killed on the tenth were indeed exceedingly beautiful, and much more delicate when dreſſed than the former: they are called the *keeſee-keeſee* by the inhabitants, are about the ſize of a rabbit, and moſt aſtoniſhingly nimble. The colour of their body is reddiſh, and the tail, which is long, is black at the extremity; but the fore-feet are orange colour. The head is very round, the face milk white, with a round black patch in the middle, in which are the mouth and the noſtrils; and this diſpoſition of the features give it the appearance of a maſk: the eyes are black, and remarkably lively. Theſe monkies we ſaw daily paſs along the ſides of the river, ſkipping from tree to tree, but moſtly about mid-day, and in very numerous bodies, regularly following each other like a little army, with their young ones on their backs, not unlike little knapſacks. Their manner of travelling is thus: the foremoſt walks to the extremity of a bough, from which it bounds to the extremity of one belonging to the next tree, often at a

moſt

The Mecoo & Kishee Kishee Monkeys.

moſt aſtoniſhing diſtance, and with ſuch wonderful activity and preciſion, that it never once miſſes its aim: the others one by one, and even the females, with their little ones on their backs, which ſtick faſt to the mother, follow their leader, and perform the ſame leap with the greateſt ſeeming facility and ſafety: they alſo are remarkable for climbing up the nebees or natural ropes, with which many parts of the foreſt are interwoven. Theſe nebees grow in ſuch a manner as to afford the appearance at firſt ſight of a fleet at anchor.

The monkies, I am told, have ſometimes two young ones ſucking, like the human ſpecies. I have been a witneſs how theſe animals towards ſun-ſet aſcend to the tops of the palm-trees, ſome of which are above one hundred feet in heighth, where they ſleep ſafe in the large diverging branches. The *keeſee-keeſee* is ſuch a beautiful and delicate fond creature, that it is by many people kept as a favourite, when it wears a ſilver chain. Beſides its mimic drolleries, it is remarkable for its good-nature and chirruping voice, which pronounces *peeteeco peeteeco* without intermiſſion. They are eaſily tamed, and are taken by means of a ſtrong glue made by the Indians, which is ſomething like our European bird-lime.

The other ſpecies, of the ſhooting of which I have juſt given the horrid account, were called by my negroes *monkee-monkee*. The only facts which I can relate farther of them is, that they are in ſize between the two former deſcribed, and all over black. One circumſtance I ought

not

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not to omit, which is very remarkable, *viz.* that one morning I ſaw from my barge a monkey of this kind come down to the water's edge, rinſing his mouth, and appearing to clean his teeth with one of his fingers: he was firſt diſcovered by one of the ſlaves, who pointed him out to my great amuſement.

Here I ſhall end the ſubject for the preſent, after adding that the above animals are ſociable, and that they are very tenacious of life, as I have ſhewn. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to mention, that the uſual diſtinction between what are called monkies and apes, conſiſts in this, that the firſt have all tails, of which the latter are diveſted; but never having met with in Guiana any of the latter deſcription, I believe them more to be the inhabitants of Aſia and Africa, than of the part of the new world diſtinguiſhed by the name of South America. The monkies are often miſchievous near the plantations, where they commit depredations on the ſugar-canes, &c. yet of this I but one time have been a witneſs.

As I am ſpeaking of the animals found in this part of the country, I muſt not omit the otters here, called *tavous*, which in the Cormoetibo Creek frequently attracted our attention by their diſagreeable noiſe: as they are amphibious, they live moſtly on fiſh; they are about three feet in length, grey-coloured, and all over ſpotted with white; their legs are ſhort, they are web-footed, and armed with five claws; the head is round, the noſe beſet with whiſkers like a cat; the eyes are ſmall, and

placed

placed above the ears; the tail is very ſhort. This animal moves aukwardly upon land, but in the rivers proceeds with great velocity. In Guiana it is ſaid there is another ſpecies of otters, which are much larger, but theſe I never ſaw.

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Notwithſtanding the favourable appearances of the preceding day, I was, on the 24th, exceedingly ill indeed, not being able to ſit up in my hammock, under which the black boy Quaco now lay, crying for his maſter, and on the following day the poor lad himſelf fell ſick; at the ſame time I was alſo obliged to ſend three men in a fever to Devil's Harwar. As misfortunes often croud together, I received, at this fatal period, the melancholy account that the officer, Mr. Owen, was alſo dead, having expired on his paſſage downwards at the eſtate Alica, where he was buried. My enſign, Mr. Cottenburgh, who had ſince gone to Paramaribo, died next; and for myſelf no better was now to be expected. In the height of a burning fever I now lay, forſaken by all my officers and men, without a friend to comfort me, and without aſſiſtance of any kind, except what the poor remaining negro ſlaves could afford me, by boiling a little water to make ſome tea. In this ſituation the reader may judge of the conſolation which was afforded me, the very evening when theſe accumulated misfortunes ſeemed to threaten our extinction, by the receipt of an order from the Colonel, to come down with both the barges to Devil's Harwar, where I was again to take poſt

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on ſhore, and relieve Captain Orzinga, of the Society ſervice, who with his men was to proceed to La Rochelle in Patamaca, to ſtrengthen the troops already there. Ill as I was, this had ſuch a powerful effect on my ſpirits, that I immediately ordered the Cerberus down to the mouth of the Cormoetibo Creek, where ſhe joined me that evening.

On the 26th, we bid farewel to this deſtructive place; and having weighed anchor, rowed down as far as Barbacoeba, during which time a circumſtance happened, which will probably prove more entertaining than the repeated accounts of ſickneſs and deaths.

As I was reſting in my hammock, between the paroxyſms of my fever, about half way between Cormoetibo and Barbacoeba, while the Charon was floating down, the ſentinel called to me that he had ſeen and challenged ſomething black and moving in the bruſhwood on the beach, which gave no anſwer; but which, from its ſize, he concluded muſt be a man. I immediately dropped anchor; and having manned the canoe, ill as I was, I ſtepped into it, and rowed up to the place mentioned by the ſentinel. Here we all ſtepped aſhore to reconnoitre, as I ſuſpected it to be no other than a rebel ſpy, or a ſtraggling party detached by the enemy; but one of my ſlaves, of the name of David, declared it was no negro, but a large amphibious ſnake, which could not be far from the beach, and I might have an opportunity of ſhooting it if I pleaſed. To this, however, I had

MISSING PAGE 171 & 172 IN BOOK

Thus, having once more difcovered the fnake, we difcharged both our pieces at once, and with this good effect, that he was now by one of us fhot through the head. David, who was made completely happy by this fuccefsful conclufion, ran leaping with joy, and loft no time in bringing the boat-rope, in order to drag him down to the canoe; but this again proved not a very eafy undertaking, fince the creature, notwithftanding its being mortally wounded, ftill continued to wreath and twift about, in fuch a manner as rendered it dangerous for any perfon to approach him. The negro, however, having made a running noofe on the rope, and after fome fruitlefs attempts to make an approach, threw it over his head with much dexterity; and now, all taking hold of the rope, we dragged him to the beach, and tied him to the ftern of the canoe, to take him in tow. Being ftill alive, he kept fwimming like an eel; and I having no relifh for fuch a fhip-mate on board, whofe length (notwithftanding to my aftonifhment all the negroes declared it to be but a young one come to about its half growth) I found upon meafuring it to be twenty-two feet and fome inches; and its thicknefs about that of my black boy Quaco, who might then be about twelve years old, and round whofe waift I fince meafured the creature's fkin.

Being arrived along-fide of the Charon, the next confideration was, how to difpofe of this immenfe animal; when it was at length determined to bring him on fhore at Barbacoeba, to have him fkinned, and take out the oil,

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oil, &c. In order to effect this purpofe, the negro David having climbed up a tree with the end of the rope, let it down over a ftrong forked bough, and the other negroes hoifted up the fnake, and fufpended him from the tree. This done, David, with a fharp knife between his teeth, now left the tree, and clung faft upon the monfter, which was ftill twifting, and began his operations by ripping it up, and ftripping down the fkin as he defcended. Though I perceived that the animal was no longer able to do him any injury, I confefs I could not without emotion fee a man ftark naked, black and bloody, clinging with arms and legs round the flimy and yet living monfter. This labour, however, was not without its ufe, fince he not only dexteroufly finifhed the operation, but provided me, befides the fkin, with above four gallons of fine clarified fat, or rather oil, though there was wafted perhaps as much more. This I delivered to the furgeons at Devil's Harwar, for the ufe of the wounded men in the hofpital, for which I received their hearty thanks, it being confidered, particularly for bruifes, a very excellent remedy. When I fignified my furprize to fee the fnake ftill living, after he was deprived of his inteftines and fkin, Caramaca, the old negro, whether from experience or tradition, affured me he would not die till after fun-fet. The negroes now cut him in flices, in order to drefs and feaft upon him, they all declaring that he was exceedingly good and wholefome; but to their

great

The skinning of the Aboma Snake, shot by Cap. Stedman.

London, Published Dec.r 2.d 1793 by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

great mortification I refufed to give my concurrence, and we rowed down with the fkin to Devil's Harwar. CHAP. VII.

Of this fpecies feveral fkins are preferved in the Britifh and Mr. Parkinfon's Mufeums. It is called by Mr. Weftley *Lyboija*, and *Boa* in the Britifh Encyclopœdia, to which publication I refer the reader for a perfect account, and an excellent engraving, of this wonderful creature, which in the colony of Surinam is called *Aboma*. Its length, when full grown, is faid to be fometimes forty feet, and more than four feet in circumference; its colour is a greenifh black on the back; a fine brownifh yellow on the fides, and a dirty white under the belly: the back and fides being fpotted with irregular black rings, with a pure white in the middle. Its head is broad and flat, fmall in proportion to the body, with a large mouth, and a double row of teeth: it has two bright prominent eyes; is covered all over with fcales, fome about the fize of a fhilling; and under the body, near the tail, armed with two ftrong claws like cock-fpurs, to help it in feizing its prey. It is an amphibious animal, that is, it delights in low and marfhy places, where it lies coiled up like a rope, and concealed under mofs, rotten timber, and dried leaves, to feize its prey by furprize, which from its immenfe bulk it is not active enough to purfue. When hungry, it will devour any animal that comes within its reach, and is indifferent whether it is a floth, a wild boar, a ftag, or even a tiger; round which

having

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having twisted itself by the help of its claws, so that the creature cannot escape, it breaks, by its irresistible force, every bone in the animal's body, which it then covers over with a kind of slime or slaver from its mouth, to make it slide; and at last gradually sucks it in, till it disappears: after this, the *aboma* cannot shift its situation, on account of the great knob or knot which the swallowed prey occasions in that part of the body where it rests till it is digested; for till then it would hinder the snake from sliding along the ground. During that time the *aboma* wants no other subsistence. I have been told of negroes being devoured by this animal, and am disposed to credit the account; for should they chance to come within its reach when hungry, it would as certainly seize them as any other animal. I do not apprehend that its flesh, which is very white, and looks like that of fish, is in any respect pernicious to the stomach. I should have had no objection to the negroes eating it till it was consumed, had I not observed a kind of dissatisfaction among the remaining marines, who would not have been pleased with my giving the negroes the use of the kettle to boil it. The bite of this snake is said not to be venomous; nor do I believe it bites at all from any other impulse than hunger.

I shall only add, that having nailed its skin on the bottom of the canoe, and dried it in the sun, sprinkling it over with wood-ashes to prevent it from corruption, I sent

ſent it to a friend at Paramaribo, whence it was ſince ſent to Holland as a curioſity. CHAP. VII.

However extraordinary this account may appear to many readers, let them peruſe the narrative which is related by a gentleman in the iſland of Ceylon, who ſaw a tiger killed there by a ſnake he calls the *anacunda*, but in a quite different manner, and their wonder will ceaſe. I muſt add, however, that this gentleman's relation is ſo very marvellous, that, notwithſtanding what I have experienced, I muſt confeſs it very greatly ſtaggered my faith *.

This buſineſs being ended, I alſo made an end of the cruiſe, by dropping down before the Society poſt Devil's Harwar, in order the next day to aſſume the command.

* Doctor Bancroft mentions the power of faſcination in the *aboma*. This I am obliged to contradict. Nor can I, without great difficulty, attribute this quality even to the rattle-ſnake.

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Three Eſtates burnt, and the Inhabitants murdered by the Rebels—Real Picture of Miſery and Diſtreſs—Specimen of a March through the Woods of Surinam — Colonel Fourgeoud and the remaining Troops leave Paramaribo.

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ON the 27th of Auguſt I relieved Captain Orzinga with his men, and took the command of Devil's Harwar, having been on board the Charon exactly fifty-ſix days, in the moſt wretched condition that can be deſcribed: but I hoped now to get the better of my complaint by the help of a few refreſhments, ſuch as milk, &c. which could not be obtained in our former ſituation. The Society troops (above one hundred in number) being to ſet off next day with my empty barges to La Rochelle, in Patamaca, I reviewed my marines, when I found I had left out of five officers but two, who were both ſick, the three others being dead; I had alſo only one ſerjeant, two corporals, and fifteen privates, out of fifty-four healthy men, who embarked with me on the 2d day of laſt July. This army was not more than ſufficient to defend the hoſpital, (which was crouded with ſick) the ammunition and victualling magazine, &c. on a ſpot where lately had been kept three hundred ſoldiers, particularly while

while the enemy were certainly lurking not far off: in confideration of which, the Society Captain reinforced me with twenty of his men. The next evening he entertained me and my two fubalterns with a fupper of *frefh meat*, both roaft and boiled, to our great comfort and furprize; but which, to my unfpeakable mortification, proved to be the individual poor cow with her calf, on whom we had built all our hopes for a little relief. It appeared that one of his fentinels, as concerted between them, had fhot it by a wilful miftake. Thus did Captain Orzinga, for the fake of a momentary gratification, deprive us all of that lafting comfort on which we had fo much depended, and of which we had fo much need, being altogether emaciated for want of wholefome and nutritive food.

On the morning of the 28th the Society troops rowed to Patamaca, when, examining the twenty foldiers they had left me, they proved to be the refufe of the whole, part with agues, wounds, ruptures, and rotten limbs, and moft of them next day were obliged to enter the hofpital.

On the 29th, having baftonaded my late pilot for ftealing from the foldiers, I difpatched the information to Colonel Fourgeoud, that I had taken poft, and acquainting him with my weak fituation, requefted a proper reinforcement. In the evening two of my men died.

All things now being regulated and fettled, I thanked Heaven in the expectation of getting fome reft, being

 ftill

CHAP. VIII. ftill extremely weak; and with thefe cheering hopes retired at ten o'clock at night to my hammock; but this tranquillity was again of fhort duration, for having fcarcely clofed my eyes I was awaked by my ferjeant, and the following letter put into my hand, fent by an exprefs from the captain of the militia, or bargers in Cottica.

"SIR,

"This is to acquaint you, that the rebels have burnt "three eftates by your fide, Suyingheyd, Peru, and L'Ef-"perance, the ruins of which are ftill fmoking; and "that they have cut the throats of all the white inhabi-"tants that fell in their way. As on their retreat they "muft pafs clofe by where you are pofted, be on your "guard.—I am in hafte.

"Your's, &c.

(Signed) "STOELEMAN."

Confcious of my defencelefs fituation, I immediately ftarted up; and the exprefs who brought the letter having fpread the news the moment of his landing, there was no neceffity for beating to arms, fince not only the few foldiers who were well, but the whole hofpital burft out; and feveral of them, in fpite of my oppofition, crawling on their hands and feet to their arms, dropped dead upon the fpot.—May I never behold fuch another fcene of

of misery and distress! Lame, blind, sick, and wounded, in the hope of preserving a wretched existence, rushed upon certain death! They could only, in a word, be compared to the distressed army and navy at Carthagena, commanded by the British Admiral Vernon, whom Thomson describes— CHAP. VIII.

——— "You, gallant Vernon, saw
"The miserable scene, you pitying saw,
"To infant weakness sunk, the warriour's arm;
"Saw the deep-racking pang, the ghastly form,
"The lip pale quivering, and the beamless eye,
"No more with ardour bright."

For my own part, I was in a very weakly condition indeed; however, we continued to lie all night on our arms, during which I pressed the messenger to stay, in order to add one to our miserable number, being determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible. But no enemy appearing in the morning, we buried the dead in their hammocks, not having a board to make a coffin on the whole post. In this situation I lost all patience, and had the audacity to write to my commander, that (besides what had happened) my last men stood upon the brink of the grave, from hardships and for want of being properly supported; the very waiters of the hospital having deserted on the moment of my arrival here, and gone to Paramaribo. Our whole number, indeed, was now

CHAP. VIII. now melted down to twelve men, who were to protect twelve buildings, and that with no more than two very ſmall cheſts of ammunition, and no retreat for the ſick, as the barges were gone to Patamaca, and the laſt canoe diſpatched with my letter to Colonel Fourgeoud; for I had ſet adrift that belonging to the expreſs, who was a book-keeper of a neighbouring plantation, in order to prevent him or any other from making their eſcape. In this ſituation, I was now obliged to convert the ſlaves into ſoldiers: theſe I armed with a hatchet, not daring to truſt them with a firelock. For this whole night we again watched under arms, and in the morning found two more of our little party dead on the ground.

I now began really to think we were all devoted to deſtruction, while the men, regardleſs of all order (ſelf-preſervation excepted) threw out the moſt bitter invectives againſt their perſecutor, Fourgeoud, which I could not prevent; nor can I help remarking the generalſhip of the rebel negroes, who had kept lying quiet till the removal of the Society troops from Devil's Harwar, and ſeized the very firſt day of their departure, convinced of its being guarded only by my ſick and emaciated ſoldiers, in order to commit their depredations on the Cottica eſtates. They well knew that my force was not ſufficient to purſue them, nay, hardly to ſtand in my own defence: all this, however, was but according to my expectation; while, on the contrary, had my ſtrength been ſufficient, they could never have eſcaped

caped at leaſt from being cut off in their retreat, eſpecially if the troops in Rio Perica had acted conjointly with thoſe in Cottica, by patroling the path between the two rivers, acroſs which the rebels were twice unavoidably obliged to paſs.

On the 1ſt of September we waited once more till morning, and then buried another of my poor men; while I yet cannot conceive how any one was able to ſurvive ſuch a ſeries of toil, in ſuch a debilitated ſtate, and in a tropical climate; yet ſome did, though few. At length, being perſuaded that the rebels muſt have paſt the Cordon, without having thought proper to pay us a viſit on their retreat, I determined to let the remaining few watch no longer, but permit them to die a natural death. At laſt, in the evening, when all was too late, there came down by water from the poſt La Rochelle to our aſſiſtance, one officer and ten men.—I having had but nine left to do the duty at the time of their arrival.

On the 2d another man died; and I once more reviewed my forces, which now amounted exactly to ſeven marines, the few ſcarecrows of the Society excepted; however, the chance of being maſſacred by the rebels was at this time over, thanks alone to their puſillanimity, or rather their hurry!

I now received a letter from Colonel Fourgeoud, condoling with me on the loſs of ſo many good officers, acquainting me that I was to be reinforced; and that on my recommendation my ſerjeant, Mr. Cubanns, was appointed

pointed an enſign; which gave me pleaſure, and took place at a very ſuitable time, ſince this day my poor Enſign Macdonald was ſent down very ſick to Paramaribo. I anſwered to all this, that I was obliged to him; adding, that while I remained without reinforcement, I could not be accountable for what conſequences might happen, in a place where I was left to defend a whole river with none but ſick people; and even theſe without ſufficient ammunition, and hourly expiring for want of proper medicines, or a ſurgeon to attend them, there being none here but one or two ſurgeon's mates belonging to the troops of the Society, who could do little more than occaſionally draw blood, and cut off a beard or a corn.

On the 4th we buried another of my marines, and on the following day another died; and I had not one now remaining who was not ill, or who was not rendered unſerviceable, by his feet being ſwelled with the inſects called *chigoes:* theſe poor men were moſtly Germans, who had been accuſtomed to a healthy climate in their own country. I began now to be reconciled to putting my laſt man under ground, and almoſt wiſhing to leap into the grave after him myſelf; when a barge arrived from Paramaribo with the proper reinforcement, ammunition, proviſions, medicines, a ſurgeon, and an order from my chief to trace out the track of the rebels immediately, on the former path of communication called the Cordon, between Cottica and Perica, and to write him the

the refult of my difcoveries; he intimated alfo that he intended to keep his magazines at Devil's Harwar, and that I was not to make ufe of the fpot I had found out for that purpofe at Barbacoeba Creek.

On the 6th I prepared to march myfelf, having recovered a little ftrength, on the grand project of difcovery, and then placed the ammunition in the magazine.

As the manner of marching in this country is fo very different from that in Europe, I fhall, before we fet out, endeavour briefly to defcribe the nature of thefe expeditions.

In the firft place, in Surinam no fuch thing is practicable as three or even two ranks; thus there is no marching by divifions or platoons;—but the whole party being dreffed in one rank, face to the right, and every man follows his leader, the negro flaves interfperfed between the men, in order to guard their perfons as well as what they carry; and this manner of marching is called Indian file. With a detachment of fixty men, confifting of one captain, two fubalterns, two ferjeants, four corporals, one furgeon, and fifty privates, twenty negro flaves at leaft ought to be employed, for the ufe of whom their mafters are paid at the rate of two fhillings fterling a day by the colony; and this is a much greater expence than waggons and horfes would be, which in this country cannot be employed for military fervice.

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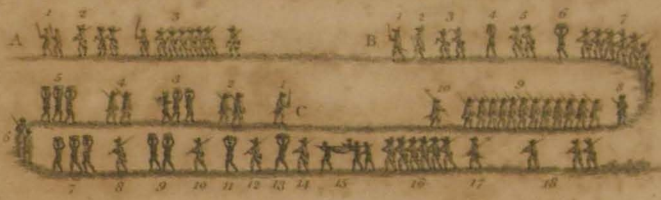
The manner of interſperſing them amongſt the troops is as follows: The foremoſt are generally two negroes, with bill-hooks to cut a way, ſo as to make a practicable path, with one corporal and two men to reconnoitre the front, and, in caſe of neceſſity, to give the alarm; and then one ſubaltern, ſix privates, and a corporal, form the van. Then follows, at ſome diſtance, the corps in two diviſions; in the firſt, one captain, one corporal, twelve privates, one ſurgeon, and two negroes to carry the powder; in the ſecond, is one ſerjeant and twelve privates; and then again follows, at ſome diſtance, the rear guard, conſiſting of one ſubaltern, one ſerjeant, one corporal, and eighteen privates, with ſixteen negroes to carry the medicines, beef, bread, ſpades, axes, rum, &c.; the ſick alſo are carried. The three laſt of all being one corporal and two men at a diſtance, to give the alarm in caſe of an attack, as the others had orders to do in the front, which ends the train.

Every thing being ready, according to the above rules, for my ſmall party, which conſiſted of myſelf, an officer of the Society, Mr. Hertſbergh, one ſurgeon's mate, one guide, two ſerjeants, two corporals, forty privates, and only eight negro ſlaves to cut open the paſſage, and carry the baggage, we faced to the right at ſix o'clock in the morning, and ſallied forth into the woods, keeping our courſe directly for the Perica river; and having marched till about eleven o'clock on the Cordon, I diſcovered, as I had expected,

the



References to the above March.

Van — A

1. Two Negroes with Bill hooks to open a Path
2. One Corporal & two Privates, to cover the Van.
3. One Subaltern, Six Privates, & one Corporal

Main Body — B

1. The Captain or commanding Officer
2. The Surgeon.
3. Two Privates, to cover the Powder.
4. A Negro with a Box of Ball Cartridges.
5. Two Privates.
6. A Negro with a Box of Ball Cartridges.
7. Eight Privates.
8. One Corporal.
9. Twelve Privates.
10. One Sergeant

Rear Guard or Corps de Reserve — C

1. A Subaltern Officer
2. Two Privates.
3. Three Negroes, with Medicines, Kettles, Axes, Spades, &c.
4. Two Privates.
5. Three Negroes with Salt Beef, Salt Pork &c.
6. Two Privates.
7. Three Negroes, with Black Bread, or Rusk Biscuit.
8. One Private
9. Two Negroes, with Kill-devil, or New Rum.
10. One Private
11. One Negro, with the Captains Provisions.
12. One Private.
13. One Negro, with Provisions for the two Subaltern Officers.
14. One Private.
15. Three Negroes to carry the Sick & Wounded.
16. Six Privates.
17. One Sergeant.
18. One Corporal & two Privates, to cover the Rear

Marks to be cut on the Trees on a March.

	A +	B ‡	C ǂ
Fourgeoud's	1st Column. Sub. A.	2d Ditto. Sub. B.	3d Ditto, Sub. C.
	D #	E ⋕	F ⋕
Society's	1st Column. Sub. D.	2d Ditto. Sub. E.	3d Ditto. Sub. F.

E. Conder Sculp.

Order of March thro' the Woods of Surinam.

London Published Decr. 1st 1791 by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

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the track of the rebels by the marks of their footſteps in the mud, by the broken bottles, plantain-ſhells, &c. and found that by appearance it bore towards Pinneburgh, already mentioned.

I had now indeed found the neſt, but the birds were flown. We continued our march till eight o'clock, when we arrived at the Society poſt Scribo, in Perica, in a moſt ſhocking condition, having waded through water and mire above our hips, climbed over heaps of fallen trees, and crept underneath on our bellies. This, however, was not the worſt, for our fleſh was terribly mangled and torn by the thorns, and ſtung by the Patat lice, ants, and *waſſy-waſſy*, or wild bees. This laſt is an inſect not larger than an Engliſh blue-bottle fly, and is of a black colour, quite different from our bees; they are never kept in hives, but ſwarm wild in the foreſt, where they build in hollow trees or between the branches; their neſts being ſometimes as large as an inflated cow's bladder, to which they bear no bad reſemblance, both in colour and ſmoothneſs, except in being leſs regularly oval; from theſe abodes (when the neſt or the branches are inadvertently touched) thouſands of warriors ſally forth; and this little flying army is extremely formidable, pitching always by inſtinct on the eyes, lips and hair, whence they cannot eaſily be diſlodged; their ſtings generally cauſe a fever, and ſwell the parts ſo very much that they occaſion blindneſs for ſeveral hours; their honey

CHAP. VIII. is of a dark-brown colour, and ſo is their wax, but gummy, being both of little value.

The worſt of our ſufferings, however, was the fatigue of marching in a burning ſun, and the laſt two hours in total darkneſs, holding each other by the hand; and having left ten men behind, ſome with agues, ſome ſtung blind, and ſome with their feet full of chigoes. Being in the moſt hoſpitable manner received at Scribo by the commanding officer, I went to my hammock very ill of a fever.

On the following morning I felt myſelf better for my night's reſt; but neither myſelf nor my men were able to march back, wherefore the other captain ſent a ſmall party of his ſoldiers to pick up the poor marines I had loſt the day before, and of whom they brought with them ſeven, carried in hammocks tied to poles, each by two negroes, the other three having ſcrambled back to Devil's Harwar.

During our ſtay here I wrote a letter to Colonel Fourgeoud, couched in ſuch terms as few people in their full ſenſes would do to their commanders, *viz.* that I had found the path; that if I had had ſupport in time I might have cut off the enemy's retreat, inſtead of finding their foot-ſteps only; but that now all was too late, and the party all knocked up to no purpoſe. This letter, I have been ſince told, incenſed him, as it is eaſy to ſuppoſe, in the higheſt degree. Being ſufficiently refreſhed to renew my march, we left Scribo on the 9th, at four o'clock in the

the morning, and at four o'clock P. M. arrived, after indefcribable fufferings, at Devil's Harwar, covered over with mud and blood, and our legs and thighs cut and torn by the thorns and branches; moft of the men being without fhoes and ftockings of neceffity, while I, who had gone this march in the fame condition from choice, had abfolutely fuffered the leaft of the whole party, by having inured myfelf gradually to walk barefooted on the barges.

At Devil's Harwar, I now found Lieutenant Colonel Wefterloo and a quarter-mafter arrived to take the command, his troops not being expected till the next day. I was by this circumftance, however, made exceedingly happy, hoping at laft to meet with fome relief; and having ceded him my written orders, the magazine, hofpital, &c. &c. I ftripped and plunged into the river to wafh myfelf and take a fwim, by which (being before much over-heated) I found myfelf greatly refrefhed, as well as by receiving a quantity of fine fruit, Jamaica rum, wine and fugar, from Joanna;—but how did my blood chill, when the quarter-mafter told me, as a fecret, that my ferjeant, one Fowler, having firft got drunk with my wine, offered violence to this poor woman; and that he was to be at Devil's Harwar next day, when I fhould fee the marks of her juft refentment on his face!

The reader will, I truft, excufe my violence, when I tell

CHAP. VIII. tell him, that I vowed immediate deſtruction to the villain: and having ordered a negro to cut twelve bamboo canes, I retired like a perſon deprived of his ſenſes, determined to puniſh him according to his ſuppoſed crime.

On the 10th there arrived two ſubalterns, with a ſecond barge full of men, ammunition, medicine, and proviſions, which having marched into quarters and ſtowed, I ſent for the hapleſs Fowler, whoſe face being in three places wounded, I locked him up in a room, and, without aſking one queſtion, broke ſix of the bamboos over his head, till he eſcaped all bloody out at the window, and my reſentment gradually abated. He certainly had ſuffered much, but nothing equal to what were my ſenſations, at being ſtill further informed, that Colonel Fourgeoud had ſeized all my effects, which he had ſealed and locked up in an empty ſtore-room, in expectation of my deceaſe, which, according to all appearances, might be looked for; while my houſe was given to another, by which means I could not procure ſo much as a clean ſhirt to relieve me from my diſgraceful tatters: nevertheleſs, by the hope of going down myſelf, my ſpirits were ſupported. The other news, of more importance, was, that the hero in perſon, with moſt of the troops, had at laſt left Paramaribo; that he had quartered them partly at Devil's Harwar, in Rio Cottica, the eſtate Bellaiz, in Rio Perica,

rica, and at the eſtates Charenbeck, and Cravaſſibo, in Rio Commewina; whence, conjunctly with the troops of the Society and the Rangers, he intended to move in queſt of the rebels; that he had alſo ordered all the barges to be relieved at laſt, and their remaining troops to reinforce the above-mentioned poſts, which I muſt remark was a very wiſe and well-planned regulation.

From Patamaca we were informed, that the rebels, on their repaſſing the river above La Rochelle, had again deſtroyed a ſmall eſtate, and murdered its proprietor, a Mr. Nyboor.

It was either about this time, or very ſhortly after, that an overſeer eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of a negro boy, who, deſiring him to leap into a canoe, and lie down flat upon his belly, leaped himſelf into the water, where, by ſwimming with one hand, and guiding the canoe with the other, he ferried his maſter ſafe over the creek Patamaca, through a ſhower of muſquet bullets, the rebels firing upon them all the while, but without execution; however, for this material piece of ſervice, he was recompenſed the week after with three hundred laſhes by the ſame maſter, only for having forgotten to open one of the ſluices or flood-gates.—On this act of inhumanity I ſhall make no comment, but proceed to my own miſerable ſituation. Having remonſtrated with Lieutenant Colonel Weſterloo on the ſtate of my health, which diſabled me from joining the corps on their march,

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I requeſted that I might be removed to Paramaribo for the chance of recovery; but this he peremptorily refuſed to allow me, by Colonel Fourgeoud's expreſs command. The refuſal of ſo reaſonable a requeſt made me almoſt diſtracted, and agitated my ſpirits ſo much, that on the morning of the 12th, determined to exchange my wretched exiſtence one way or other, I inſiſted on being immediately removed, or wiſhed for *death*, which the ſurgeons declared muſt be the conſequence ſoon, if I was not permitted to go down, and in the meanwhile I vowed that I ſhould attribute my deceaſe to their unprecedented barbarity. A conſultation was now held on the ſubject; and at laſt, not without great difficulties, a boat was ordered to row me down to Paramaribo, but no white ſervant was permitted to attend me. Thus leaving the Lieutenant Colonel employed in fortifying Devil's Harwar with palliſadoes, where now alſo was a numerous garriſon, I at twelve o'clock at noon walked to the water-ſide, ſupported by a negro, on whoſe ſhoulder I reſted, till I at length ſtepped into the boat, followed by my black boy Quaco, and finally left the diabolical ſpot where I had buried ſo many brave fellows.

On the 14th, having rowed day and night, at two o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the town, extremely ill indeed; where, having no reſidence of my own, I was hoſpitably received at the houſe of a Mr.

De

De La Marre, a merchant, this gentleman not only received me, but immediately ſent a ſervant for poor Joanna, who was at her mother's, and another for a phyſician to attend me, as my weak and hopeleſs condition now required every aſſiſtance that the town of Paramaribo could afford. CHAP. VIII.

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Some Diseases peculiar to the Climate—Group of Negroes newly imported going to be sold—Reflections on the Slave Trade—The Voyage from Africa—Manner of selling them in the Colony—Description of a Cotton Plantation.

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SEPTEMBER 15th, I found myself in an elegant and well-furnished apartment, encouraged by the hopes given by the physician, caressed by my friends, and supported by the care and attention of my incomparable Mulatto.

A Captain Brant having at this time the command in Colonel Fourgeoud's absence, he sent, the morning after my arrival, my trunks and baggage, which had been sealed up; but on looking into them, I found I had enemies at home as well as abroad; since most of my shirts, books, &c. were gnawed to dust by the blatta or cockroach, called *cakreluce* in Surinam: nay, even my shoes were destroyed, of which I had brought with me twelve pairs new from Europe, as they were extremely dear and bad in this country.

This insect, which is of the beetle kind, is here one inch and sometimes two inches long, oval, flat, and of a dark reddish colour. By getting through the locks of chests or boxes, it not only deposits its eggs there, but commits its ravages on linen, cloth, silk, or any thing that

comes

comes in its way; by getting alfo into the victuals and drink of every kind, it renders them extremely loathfome, for it leaves the moft naufeous fmell, worfe indeed than that of a bug. As moft Weft-India veffels (efpecially thofe loaded with fugar) bring them home in great quantities, I fhall fay nothing more concerning them, only that they are feldom feen to fly, but creep very faft; and that the beft, and I think the only way to keep the boxes free from them is, to place them on four empty wine bottles kept free from duft, which, by their fmoothnefs, prevent the infects afcending to get through the key-holes, or even the fmalleft openings in the bottoms; but this precaution had been neglected by my good friend Colonel Fourgeoud. I found, however, linen fufficient for prefent ufe, and by the induftry of Joanna I was foon provided with a new ftock. None can conceive the comfort I felt in being properly dreffed and fhifted; my mental faculties were recruiting apace, and I felt with gratitude the bleffing of a ftrong conftitution; but poor Macdonald was ftill ill at Mr. Kennedy's, who had humanely afforded him an afylum on his return from Devil's Harwar.

Having now time, I inquired concerning Fowler's conduct; when, to my infinite furprize, I was informed that he had indeed got drunk, as was reported to me, by which he had fallen amongft the bottles and cut his face, but that he never had attempted the fmalleft rudenefs: fo much indeed was his conduct the reverfe of what

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had been reported, that his inebriety had proceeded from his resentment at seeing both me and Joanna ill treated, and my property transported away against his inclination. I was now extremely chagrined at my past conduct, and was gently reproved by the *cause* of it, to whom I promised to be Fowler's friend for ever after— and I kept my word. My fever was now much abated, but I was infested with another disorder peculiar to this climate, and which I am afraid I shall but indifferently describe: it is called in Surinam the ring-worm, and consists of long scarlet irregular spots, particularly on the under parts of the body, which increase in magnitude from day to day, unless prevented by timely application. Those spots are surrounded with a kind of hard callous border, and are as troublesome by their itching as the prickly heat, or the sting of the musquitoes; and so very infectious is this complaint, that if any person seats himself by chance on a chair immediately after another who has the disorder, he is almost certain to be infected with it: it is, I believe, very difficult to get rid of; but the best cure is to rub the spots with a composition of refined salt-petre, benzoin, flower of brimstone, and white mercury, mixed with fresh butter or hog's-lard. The numerous inconveniencies to which the inhabitants of this climate are exposed, are almost inconceivable.

On the 26th I had a relapse, and was twice bled in one day. I was also this morning visited by poor Mr. Henaman,

man, a young volunteer I have not before mentioned, who looked like a ghoſt, and was left ſick at Paramaribo to manage for himſelf.

On the 2d of October I was a little better, and was exalted from living like a ſavage, to the temporary command of a few troops left at *Paramaribo*, Captain Brant being ordered to join Fourgeoud in Rio Comewina; when the colours, regiment's caſh, &c. were tranſmitted to my own lodging, and a ſentinel placed before my door.

The firſt exerciſe I made of my power was to diſcharge the ſour wine, which had been bought for the ſick officers as well as the men, whom I ſupplied, from the money now in my poſſeſſion, with good wholeſome claret; but I was ſorry not to be able alſo to exchange the ſalt beef, pork, and peaſe, that were left at the *hoſpital*, for freſh proviſions. This ſtep was however particularly forbidden by the commander; while the butter, cheeſe, and tobacco were taken away, for which they got one quart of oil amongſt ten, and their bread reduced to two pounds each man for a whole week. As to the officers, they were left to ſhift for themſelves, or ſubmit to the ſame allowance, notwithſtanding they kept on paying their quota to a regimental meſs, which now no longer exiſted.

On the 3d, I took the air for the firſt time on horſeback, in company with Mr. Henaman, though we could not ride above three Engliſh miles diſtance out of town, on a ſpecies of gravel that leads to the Wanica Path, which I have already mentioned as communicating with

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the river Seramica, and as the only paſſable road in the colony. During this little ride, which (on account of the dry ſeaſon being commenced) we took at ſix o'clock in the morning, we obſerved a great number of thoſe large and elegant birds, known by the name of *macaws*, but in Surinam called ravens, from their proportion to the parrots, which may be looked upon as a kind of tropical crows.

The macaws are divided into different ſpecies, of which I ſhall only deſcribe two, wiſhing to ſay nothing for which I have not competent authority, as I am ſorry to obſerve too many authors have done, among whom are men of genius and learning: ſome indeed may have erred from ignorance or wrong information, but numbers for the gratification of vanity have, I fear, been guilty of impoſing on the too credulous public.

The blue and yellow macaw is as large as a barn-door fowl, with ſhort legs and a crooked bill, like that of the common parrot; the former dark coloured, with four black claws, two before and two behind; the latter alſo black, the upper mandible alone moveable. Its tail is like a wedge, and conſiſts of a few very long and ſtrait feathers. The back of this bird, from the head (the top of which is a ſea-green) to the extremity of the tail, is a moſt beautiful azure blue, and, underneath, its whole body is of a pale orange colour; round its eyes it is perfectly white, interſperſed with black rings, compoſed of very ſmall feathers.

The other is called in Surinam the *Amazon macaw*.

This

The Blue & Yellow & the Amazon Macaw.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard

This is rather lefs than the former; its tail, legs, and bill, are formed in the fame manner, but the latter is of a dirty white; the head, the neck, and breaft of this bird are of a bright fcarlet, the fpace round the eyes only excepted, where it is white, with black rings; its wings may be faid to be divided by bars into four colours, being fcarlet at the top, next green, then yellow and blue, down to the extremity of the tail, which in the fun fhines with a brilliancy and effect unequalled by art. The macaws fly in couples, and have a fhrill difagreeable fhriek, and bite feverely; their bill being very hard and fharp, which is of great ufe to them in climbing: they are eafily tamed, and may be taught to fpeak like other parrots. The Indians frequently bring them to Paramaribo, where they part with them for a bottle of rum, or for a few fifh-hooks.

This evening arrived fick, from the head-quarters at the eftate Crawafibo in Comewina, Colonel Texier, the commanding officer of the Society troops. This gentleman had intended to have marched conjunctly with Colonel Fourgeoud through the woods, in queft of the rebels; but his conftitution, already weak, not being able to fupport the regimen of the commander in chief, and to live only on falt provifions, had begun to flag from the beginning, till he was fent home to Paramaribo in this drooping condition.

On the fixth of October the fever had left me, and the ring-worms began to abate; but the mifery and hard-fhips

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ſhips which I had ſo lately undergone ſtill had an effect upon my conſtitution, and enormous boils broke out on my left thigh, which entirely prevented me from walking. My phyſician, however, ordering me daily to take the air, I had an opportunity this day of waiting on his excellency the Governor of the colony, by the help of my friend Kennedy's chaiſe; and as I returned homeward, I ſtopped the carriage at the water-ſide, to behold a group of human beings, who had ſtrongly attracted my attention. This group I ſhall circumſtantially endeavour to deſcribe. They were a drove of newly-imported negroes, men and women, with a few children, who were juſt landed from on board a Guinea ſhip that lay at anchor in the roads, to be ſold for ſlaves. The whole party was ſuch a ſet of ſcarcely animated automatons, ſuch a reſurrection of ſkin and bones, as forcibly reminded me of the laſt trumpet. Theſe objects appeared that moment to be riſen from the grave, or eſcaped from Surgeon's Hall; and I confeſs I can give no better deſcription of them, than by comparing them to walking ſkeletons covered over with a piece of tanned leather.

"And the Lord cauſed me to paſs by them round "about, and behold there were many in the open val- "ley, and lo they were very dry.

"And he ſaid unto me, Son of Man, can theſe bones "live? And I anſwered, O Lord God thou knoweſt." —*Ezekiel*, xxxvii. ver. 2, 3.

Before

Group of Negros, as imported to be sold for Slaves.

Before these wretches, which might be in all about fixty in number, walked a failor, and another followed behind with a bamboo-rattan; the one ferving as a fhepherd to lead them along, and the other as his dog to worry them occafionally, fhould any one lag behind, or wander away from the flock. At the fame time, however, equity demands the acknowledgment, that inftead of all thofe horrid and dejected countenances which are defcribed in pamphlets and news-papers, I perceived not one fingle downcaft look amongft them all; and I muft add, that the punifhment of the bamboo was inflicted with the utmoft moderation by the failor who brought up the rear. CHAP. IX.

Having viewed this fad affemblage of my fellow-creatures with amazement, I drove home to my lodgings in a ftate of perfect humiliation; where I noted down, as I could learn it from the beft authority, both white and black, what is really the fate of thefe people, from the laft moment of their liberty in Africa, to the prefent period of their flavery in America: and this I fhall endeavour to relate, preceded by a few of my own unbiaffed fentiments upon the Slave Trade, which has lately been the object of both public and private inveftigation; and this, I truft, I fhall do with that candour and impartiality which not only every gentleman, but every man, fhould think it neceffary to be poffeffed of.

It has been faid, Will you, for the fake of drinking rum,

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and ſweetening your coffee with ſugar, perſevere in the moſt unjuſt and execrable barbarity?—To this it is anſwered, Take care, leſt, under the enthuſiaſm of humanity, you do not, at the expence of your neighbour, and perhaps of your country, inconſiderately give up *your* advantages, without the leaſt chance of benefiting or improving the condition of thoſe, whom I moſt heartily join with you in calling our brethren.

After ſo many volumes which, within a few years, have been written on this ſubject, it may appear great preſumption in me to offer my poor opinion: but I have made it a rule, among the various ſubjects I have mentioned, to dwell on thoſe only to which I have been an eye-witneſs; and which I am convinced there are few others in this country that have ſeen and ſo accurately obſerved. I have ſeen the moſt cruel tortures inflicted, for ſubmitting to the deſire of a huſband, or for refuſing the ſame to a libidinous maſter, and more frequently a raſcally overſeer: nay, even on the moſt innocent, from the falſe accuſations of a luſtful woman, prompted alone by jealouſy. I have ſeen in other places, negro ſlaves as well treated as the moſt favoured ſervants in England; and as I have ſeen ſome ſailors, ſoldiers, and apprentices, moſt tyrannically treated when under the command of ill-tempered deſpots, I muſt pronounce the condition of ſuch not to be envied even by negroes. If, therefore, ſo much depends on the diſpoſition or humour of thoſe who are exerciſing a permanent

permanent or a temporary power, we muſt duly conſider, before we haſtily judge the whole from partial information.

Cruelty is too often exerciſed in *our* plantations; but if not ſo ſhockingly to human nature as in other countries, what are we doing by a ſudden emancipation, but turning the poor creatures over to more cruel maſters? The quantum of ſugar, &c. will be had, and muſt be provided by negroes, natives of Africa, who alone are born to endure labour under a vertical ſun.

The national character of theſe people, as I have remarked it, where they are as free to act by their own will and diſpoſition as in Africa, is perfectly ſavage; the twenty thouſand Ouca and Seramica free negroes have lived ſeparated, and under no controul of Europeans, for a number of years, and yet I have never ſeen any marks of civilization, order, or government among them, but, on the contrary, many examples of ungovernable paſſion, debauchery, and indolence.

I love the African negroes, and have ſhewn how ſincerely I have felt for them on many occaſions; and whatever wrong conſtruction may be put on what I have ſaid on this ſubject, I wiſh, from the bottom of my heart, that my words could be ſubmitted to the conſideration of that reſpectable body the Britiſh parliament; and ſo far be regarded, as to prevent the fatal deciſion of a total abolition of ſlavery till 1800, or the beginning of next

 century.

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century. For if ſuch a meaſure ſhould be raſhly enforced, I take the liberty to propheſy, that thouſands and thouſands, both white and black, may repent, and more be ruined by it, when the evil can no more be redreſſed.

From what I have learned by inquiry, from perſons well informed on the ſubject, it clearly appears, that numbers of the negroes offered for ſale have been taken in battles, and made priſoners of war; while many others have been ſcandalouſly kidnapped, and ſome others tranſported for offences, &c.; of all which I ſhall produce a few examples in future.

Theſe groups of people are marched from every inland part, to the factories erected by different nations upon the coaſt, where they are ſold, or more properly ſpeaking, bartered, like the other productions of their country, *viz.* gold, elephants teeth, &c. to the Europeans, for bars of iron, fire-arms, carpenters tools, cheſts, linens, hats, knives, glaſſes, tobacco, ſpirits, &c. Next they are embarked for exportation, during which time they, without contradiction, feel all the pangs that mental or corporeal miſery can inflict. Being torn from their country and deareſt connections, ſtowed hundreds together in a dark ſtinking hold, the ſexes being ſeparated; while the men are kept in chains to prevent an inſurrection. In this manner are they floated over turbulent ſeas, not certain what is to be their deſtiny, and generally fed during the

the paſſage with horſe-beans and oil for their whole ſubſiſt-ence. But theſe ſufferings are often alleviated with better food by the more humane: ſo far, that none or few of the cargo die during the paſſage, and the whole crew ar-rive healthy in the Weſt Indies. I even remember one inſtance, where the captain, mate, and moſt of the ſailors, having expired at ſea, ſo that the remaining few could not work the ſhip without the negroes aſſiſt-ance, yet theſe laſt having been well treated, helped at laſt to run the veſſel on ſhore, by which means they not only ſaved many lives, but tamely and even chear-fully allowed themſelves to be fetched and ſold to any perſon who would pleaſe to buy them.—Having made theſe reflections, I ſhall now briefly proceed with the manner in which the ſlaves are diſpoſed of.

No ſooner is a Guinea-ſhip arrived, than all the ſlaves are led upon deck, where they are refreſhed with pure air, plantains, bananas, oranges, &c. and being properly cleaned, waſhed, and their hair ſhaved in different figures of ſtars, half-moons, &c. which they generally do the one to the other, (having no razors) by the help of a broken bottle and without ſoap. After this operation, one part of them is ſent aſhore for ſale, decorated with pieces of cotton to ſerve as fig-leaves, arm-bands, beads, &c. being all the captain's property; while the others ſpend the day in dancing, hallooing, and clapping hands on board the veſſel.

Having

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Having ſufficiently deſcribed their figures after landing, we now may ſuppoſe them walking along the water-ſide, and through the ſtreets, where every planter picks out that number which he ſtands in need of, to ſupply thoſe loſt by death or deſertion, and begins to make a bargain with the captain. Good negroes are generally valued at from fifty to a hundred pounds each. Amongſt theſe, ſhould a woman chance to be pregnant, her price is augmented accordingly, for which reaſon I have known the captain of a Dutch Guinea veſſel, who acknowledged himſelf to be the father, take advantage, with a brutality ſcarcely credited in the ſtory of Inkle and Yarico, of doubling the value, by ſelling his own offſpring to the beſt bidder; for which however he was highly cenſured by his companions.

The next circumſtance that takes place before the bargain is ſtruck, is to cauſe the negroes for ſale, one after another, to mount on a hogſhead or a table, where they are viſited by a ſurgeon, who obliges them to make all the different geſtures, with arms and legs, of a Merry-Andrew upon the ſtage, to prove their ſoundneſs or unſoundneſs; after which they are adopted by the buyer, or rejected, as he finds them fit for his purpoſe, or otherwiſe. If he keeps them, the money is paid down; and the new-bought negroes are immediately branded on the breaſt or the thick part of the ſhoulder, by a ſtamp made of ſilver, with the initial letters of the new maſter's name,

as

as we mark furniture or any thing elſe to authenticate them properly. Theſe hot letters, which are about the ſize of a ſix-pence, occaſion not that pain which may be imagined, and the bliſters being rubbed directly with a little freſh butter, are perfectly well in the ſpace of two or three days. No ſooner is this ceremony over, and a new name given to the newly-bought ſlave, than he or ſhe is delivered to an old one of the ſame ſex, and ſent to the eſtate, where each is properly kept clean by his guardian, inſtructed and well fed, without working, for the ſpace of ſix weeks; during which period, from living ſkeletons, they become plump and fat, with a beautiful clean ſkin, till it is disfigured by the inhuman flogging of ſome raſcally proprietor, or rather his overſeer. CHAP. IX.

Here I muſt leave them for ſome time, and continue my narrative, after obſerving that the negroes are compoſed of different nations or caſts, ſuch as the

Abo,	Congo,	Loango,	Pombo,
Conia,	Gango,	N. Zoko,	Wanway,
Blitay,	Konare,	Nago,	&c. &c.
Coromantin,	Riemba,	Papa,	

With moſt of which I have found means to get acquainted, and of which I ſhall ſpeak more amply in another place of this narrative.

On the 10th, the ſurgeon having lanced my thigh, I ſcrambled out once more, to witneſs the ſelling of ſlaves

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to the beſt bidder. After what has been related, the reader may form ſome judgment of my ſurprize and confuſion, when I found among them my ineſtimable Joanna; the ſugar-eſtate Fauconberg, with its whole ſtock, being this day ſold by an execution, for the benefit of the creditors of its late poſſeſſor, Mr. D. B. who had fled.

I now felt all the horrors of the damn'd. I bewailed again and again my unlucky fortune, that did not enable me to become her proprietor myſelf, and in my mind I continually painted her enſuing dreadful ſituation. I fancied I ſaw her tortured, inſulted, and bowing under the weight of her chains, calling aloud, but in vain, for my aſſiſtance. I was miſerable, and indeed nearly deprived of all my faculties, till reſtored by the aſſurances of my friend, Mr. Lolkens, who providentially was appointed to continue adminiſtrator of the eſtate during the abſence of its new poſſeſſors, Meſſrs. *Paſſelege* and ſon, at Amſterdam, who bought it and its dependants for only four thouſand pounds.

No ſooner was he confirmed in his appointment, than this diſintereſted and ſteady friend brought Joanna to my preſence; and pledged himſelf, that in every ſervice which he could render to myſelf or her, and which he had now more in his power than ever, no efforts on his ſide ſhould be wanting. This promiſe I deſired him to keep in remembrance, and accordingly he ever ſince moſt nobly perſevered.

8 Being

Being informed that Colonel Fourgeoud had left Crawaſſibo eſtate, and entered the woods juſt above the plantation Clarenbeck, on his way to the Wana Creek, to try if he could fall in with the rebels, I requeſted, by a letter, that I might join him there as ſoon as I ſhould be recovered, and having ſhipped off for the laſt-mentioned eſtate medicines and ſuch ſurgeons of ours as had been left at Paramaribo, I employed Mr. Greber, the ſurgeon of the Society, on my own authority, and at the regiment's expence, to attend the ſick officers and ſoldiers, who were left in town, deſtitute of caſh, and now without aſſiſtance. At the ſame time I alſo ordered to be purchaſed two more ankers of the beſt claret for their ſupport. Thus was I determined properly to avail myſelf of my command, which at beſt could but laſt a few days longer.

This evening my friend De La Mara took his departure, with his twenty-five free mulattoes, for the river Surinam; he being a captain of the militia, and they being infinitely preferable to the European ſcarecrows.

I was ſo far recovered as to be able to ride out every morning, when the following ludicrous adventure happened to me on the road that leads to Wanica. In this place a Mr. Van de Velde, boaſting how faſt his horſe could gallop, propoſed to me to run a race; to which I agreed, allowing him the ſtart at twenty paces diſtance. The ſtart indeed he had, but did not long retain his ad-

 vantage,

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vantage, for my Engliſh horſe paſſing him with the rapidity of a cannon-ſhot, his galloway ſprung, rider and all, through a hedge of thick limes, and left poor Mr. Van de Velde, not like Doctor Slop, in the dirt, but like Abſalom, hanging among the branches.

The horſes in Surinam are little better or larger than aſſes (except thoſe which are brought from North America or Holland, the latter of which are generally employed for carriages) yet they are uſeful in the ſugar-mills, where a number of mules are alſo employed. Theſe laſt are brought over from Barbary, and ſometimes ſold as high as fifty guineas. None of theſe animals are indigenous to Guiana; but, as many other animals have been imported, and become the inhabitants of the climate, to ſave unneceſſary repetition I here give the following liſt of ſuch quadrupeds as are not natives of the new continent:

The Elephant,	Sheep,	Wild Goat,
Hipopotamus,	Hog,	Rabbit,
The Rhinoceros,	Goat,	Small Guinea Stag,
Cameleopard,	Dog,	Ferret,
Camel,	Badger,	Rat,
Dromedary,	Sable,	Mouſe,
Lion,	Stoat or Ermine,	Fat Squirrel,
Tiger,	Hyæna,	Garden Squirrel,
Panther,	Jackall,	Marmot,

Horſe,

Horfe,	Genett,	Ichneumon,
Afs,	Civet,	Jerboa,
Zebra,	Cat,	Maki; and
Ox,	Antelope,	feveral kinds
Buffalo,	Chamois Goat,	of Monkies.

Should the number on this lift feem rather great, I in that cafe refer to the celebrated Count de Buffon, whence it was extracted.

On the 18th arrived fick from Devil's Harwar Enfign Mathew, one of the officers by whom I had been relieved; and the fame day he was followed by his commander and friend, Colonel Wefterloo, fupported by two foldiers. They had ridiculed me for complaining, after a confinement of fo many weeks on board the barges; while thefe gentlemen had been out but a few days and always on fhore, the latter of them having attempted to accompany the old Colonel Fourgeoud to Wana (whom he had joined at La Rochelle in Patamaca) but was completely unfitted for proceeding by his very firft entry into the woods. I was at dinner with a Mr. Day, when I faw him pafs by a miferable fpectacle, and chufing to forget what had paffed at Devil's Harwar, and in reality having a regard for this gentleman, I ftarted up immediately, and got him a coach, in which I accompanied him to his lodgings, where, having placed a centinel before his chamber-door to keep out the rabble, I fent for

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a Doctor Van Dam, as well as a Doctor Riffam, an American, to attend him, forbidding all other communication, that of an old negro woman, his man fervant, and a black boy excepted, and by thefe means I apparently preferved his life.

On the 20th, Lieutenant Count de Randwyk came down alfo indifpofed with Enfign Coene, and at laft my poor old fhipmate Lieutenant Hamer, who had been kept at Devil's Harwar near four months, till, overcome by difeafe, he obtained leave to be tranfported to Paramaribo.

On the 22d, the governor fent me a cotton twig, which I copied; and as I cannot have a better opportunity, I will now proceed to a defcription of that ufeful plant, which has only been cultivated in Surinam from about the year 1735, but not with advantage till about the years 1750 or 1752. There are feveral fpecies of the cotton-tree, but I fhall confine myfelf to that which is the moft common and the moft ufeful in this colony. This fpecies of cotton, which grows upon a tree about fix or eight feet high, bears before it is a year old, and produces two crops annually, each of about twenty ounces in weight; the leaves are fomething like thofe of the vine, of a bright green, and the fibres of a cinnamon colour. The cotton-balls, fome of which are as large as a fmall hen's egg, and divided in three parts, grow on a very long ftalk, and in a triangular pod, which is firft

produced

produced by a yellow flower, and when ripe opens of itſelf, and diſcloſes the globular contents as white as flakes of ſnow; in the middle of theſe are contained ſmall black ſeeds, formed not unlike thoſe that are uſually found in grapes. The cotton will proſper in any of the tropical ſoils, and produces a good profit if the crops are not ſpoiled by a too long rainy ſeaſon, being cultivated with very little trouble and expence: all indeed that is required is, to plant the ſeeds at a little diſtance from each other, when each ſeed, as I have ſaid, produces the firſt year it is put in the ground. The ſeparation of the ſeeds from the pulp, is the work of one man only, by the help of a machine made for the purpoſe; after which the cotton has undergone all the neceſſary proceſs, and is put in bales of between three and four hundred pounds weight each for tranſportation, which bales ought to be well moiſtened at the time of ſtowing it, to prevent the cotton from ſticking to the canvas. In the year before my arrival in Surinam, near three thouſand bales of cotton were exported from this colony to Amſterdam and Rotterdam alone, which produced about forty thouſand pounds ſterling. The beſt eſtates make twenty-five thouſand pounds weight. The average prices have been from eight pence to twenty-two pence per pound. The raw material is ſpun in the Weſt Indies by a rock and ſpindle, and extremely fine, when by the negro girls it is knit into ſtockings, &c. one pair of which are

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ſometimes ſold for the price of a Portugueſe joe, or ſometimes for two guineas. The Indians or natives of Guiana make very good hammocks of cotton, which they barter with the inhabitants at Paramaribo for other commodities.—In the annexed plate *A* is the twig itſelf, *B* the pod, *C* the cotton-ball, and *D* the ſeed, but on a ſmaller ſcale than nature. I ſhould here alſo deſcribe the coffee, cacao, ſugar, and indigo plantations, but muſt reſerve them till another occaſion, having made it a rule to ſpeak of things only as they occur, which is more pleaſant to myſelf, and better adapted to diverſify my narrative.

Being now perfectly recovered, I reſolved to join Colonel Fourgeoud at the Wana Creek, without waiting his orders, and to accompany him on his excurſions through the foreſt: in conſequence of which, having firſt cropt my hair, as being more convenient in the woods as well as more cleanly, and provided myſelf with the neceſſary buſh-equipage, ſuch as jackets, trowſers, &c.; I waited on the governor to aſk his commands; he entertained me in a moſt polite manner, and told me, that what I was now going to ſuffer would ſurpaſs what I had already undergone. I neverthelefs perſiſted in wiſhing to go without waiting an order from the chief, and accordingly applied to the magiſtrates for a boat, and the neceſſary negroes to tranſport me; which being promiſed for the ſucceeding day, I transferred the colours and regiment's caſh, with the command of the remaining ſick troops, to

Sprig of the Cotton Tree.

London, Published Dec.r 5th 1798 by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

Lieutenant Meyer, the only healthy officer then at Paramaribo.

Indeed the colours, the cash, and the sick soldiers were nearly of equal use in Surinam, the first never having been displayed except at our landing, the second invisible to all except to Colonel Fourgeoud, and the third dying away one after another.

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Colonel Fourgeoud marches to the Wana Creek—Harasses the Enemy—Account of the Manicole Tree, with its various Uses—March to the Mouth of Cormoetibo River—Some Rebels taken—Shocking Treatment of a wounded captive Negro.

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ON the 25th of October, being ready to proceed upon my fecond campaign, I repaired to the water-fide at fix o'clock in the evening; where, inftead of a tent boat, I found a greafy yawl, with a few drunken Dutch failors, to row me to an eftate in the river Comewina, whence they were going to bring their captain back to Paramaribo, and from which place I might, if I pleafed, beg the reft of my paffage upwards, or manage for myfelf in the beft manner I was able. I had already one foot in the boat, when, reflecting that I was going voluntarily on a hazardous expedition, without orders, and only from a defire to ferve an ungrateful people, I repented, and ftepped back upon the fhore, where, pofitively declaring I would not move in their defence till I fhould be decently tranfported, fhould the whole colony be on fire, I was feconded by all the Englifh and Americans in the town, and a general tumult took place. The Dutch exclaimed againft the expence of a tent-boat

boat which would coſt them thirty ſhillings, when they could have the other for nothing; while the others declared they were a ſet of mean and parſimonious wretches, who deſerved not the ſmalleſt protection from Colonel Fourgeoud's troops. A mob collected, and a riot enſued, before Mr. Hardegen's tavern, at the water-ſide, while hats, wigs, bottles, and glaſſes, flew out at his windows. The magiſtrates were next ſent for, but to no purpoſe: and the fighting continued in the ſtreet till ten o'clock at night, when I with my friends fairly kept the field, having knocked down ſeveral ſailors, planters, Jews, and overſeers, and loſt one of my piſtols, which I threw after the rabble in a paſſion; nor would it have ended here, had not my friend Mr. Kennedy, who was member of the Court of Policy, and two or three more gentlemen whom he brought with him, found means to appeaſe the diſputants, by declaring I had been very ill treated, and ſhould have a proper boat the next day.

Having now ſlept and refreſhed myſelf a few hours, I was waited on by four American captains, *viz.* Captain Timmons of the Harmony, Captain Lewis of the Peggy, Captain Bogard of the Olive Branch, and Captain Minet of the America, who inſiſted on my refuſing any veſſel whatever from the colony this time, and offering to ſend me up in one of their own boats, manned by their own ſailors only, to which each would equally contribute. I can aver, that notwithſtanding the threatening rupture between Great Britain and her Colonies, which ſeemed

 then

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then upon the eve of breaking out into open violence, nothing could ſurpaſs the warm and cordial friendſhip which theſe gentlemen poſſeſſed, not only for me, but for every individual that bore a Britiſh name, or had any connexion with that iſland; profeſſing, that they ſtill retained the greateſt regard for every thing in Britain, but its adminiſtration. I accepted of their very polite propoſal; after which, having received a letter from Mr. Kennedy, to be delivered to one of the militia captains, a Mr. N. Reeder, in the river Comewina, with orders to ſend me farther up in a proper tent-boat; and having arranged matters in ſuch a manner at home, that neither Colonel Fourgeoud nor the cock-roaches could injure me, I ſhook hands with my Mulatta, and at ſix in the evening repaired once more to the water-ſide, eſcorted by my Engliſh and American friends, where, having drank a bowl of punch, we ſeparated. I then departed for my ſtation, they having hoiſted the colours on board all their veſſels in the road, and at the boat's going off ſaluted me with three cheers, to my great ſatisfaction, and the mortification of the gaping multitude by which we were ſurrounded. We ſoon rowed beyond the view of Paramaribo.

Being arrived at the fortreſs of New Amſterdam, we were obliged to ſtop for the return of the tide, to row up the river Comewina. In this interval, I was genteelly entertained with a ſupper by the Society officers quartered there; but at twelve o'clock we got aboard, and having

having rowed all night, I breakfaſted with Captain Macneyl, who was one of General Spork's captains in 1751; after which we once more ſet out, and arrived at the plantation Charlottenburgh, where I delivered Mr. Kennedy's letter to Mr. Reeder, who promiſed next morning to aſſiſt me. So much incenſed was I at the uſage I had met with at Paramaribo, and ſo well pleaſed with the Engliſh ſailors, that I ordered the tars a dinner of twelve roaſted ducks, and gave them thirty-ſix bottles of claret, being my whole ſtock, beſides a guinea. When the tide ebbed they took their leave, and rowed down to their veſſels, as well pleaſed, and as drunk as wine or ſtrong ſpirits could make them.

I now purſued my voyage upwards as far as the eſtate Mondeſir; afterwards, having viewed the ruins of the three eſtates, Zuzingheyd, Peru, and L'Eſperance, which had been burnt when I commanded at Devil's Harwar, I arrived at Lepair. Here one of the overſeers gave me an account of his miraculous eſcape from the rebels, which I ſhall relate in his own words.—“ The rebels, Sir,” ſaid he, “ had already ſurrounded the dwelling-houſe in which I was, before I knew of their being in the plantation, and were employed in ſetting fire to the four corners of it, ſo that to run out of doors was ruſhing on certain death. In this dilemma I fled to the garret, where I laid myſelf flat upon one of the beams, in hopes of their diſperſing ſoon, and that I might effect

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my efcape before the building fhould be burnt down; but in this I was difappointed, as they ftill remained; and at the fame time the flames encreafed fo faft, that the heat became infupportable in the place where I was, and I had no other alternative left, than to be burnt to death, or to leap from a high garret window into the midft of my exafperated enemies. This laft meafure, however, I refolved upon, and had not only the good fortune to light unhurt upon my feet, but to efcape without a wound, from among fo many men armed with fabres and bill-hooks. I flew to the river-fide, into which I plunged headlong; however, not being able to fwim, I immediately funk to the bottom; but (faid he) I ftill kept my full prefence of mind, and while they concluded me to be drowned, found means, by the help of the *moco-moco* and mangrove roots, to bring myfelf not only under cover of the impending verdure, but juft fo far above water with my lips as to continue in a ftate of refpiration till all was over. Having killed every other perfon, the rebels departed, and I was taken up by a boat from my very perilous fituation."

On the 30th I arrived at Devil's Harwar, and the fucceeding day rowed up the Cormoetibo Creek; where, having tied the boat to a tree which overfpread it with thick branches, we quietly lay down to fleep during the night; myfelf and Quaco in the boat upon the benches, and the negroes under the feats, except thofe whom I

ordered alternately to keep watch, and awake me if they heard the leaſt ruſtling in the woods, forbidding them all abſolutely to ſpeak or make any noiſe, leſt the rebels, who were hovering on both ſides of the Creek, might hear and ſurprize us. As for myſelf, who was the only white perſon amongſt them all, I was confident I ſhould not, in ſuch a caſe, eſcape their fury. After theſe precautions, we all lay down and ſlept ſoundly, from nine o'clock till about three in the morning, at which time Quaco and myſelf were both ſuddenly thrown down from our benches, by the boat all at once heeling upon one ſide, while all the negroes leaped overboard into the water. I inſtantly cocked my piſtol, and jumping up, aſked aloud what was the matter? poſitively determined to defend myſelf to the laſt extremity, rather than be taken alive by ſo relentleſs an enemy. For the ſpace of a few ſeconds I obtained no anſwer, when again the boat ſuddenly rectifying itſelf (by the motion of which I was thrown off my feet) one of the ſwimming negroes called out, "Maſera, da wan ſea-cow;" and to my great happineſs it proved to be no other than the manati, or ſea-cow, which is called in Cayenne the *lamentyn*. By the account of the negroes it had ſlept under the boat, which, by the creature's awaking, had been lifted up and thrown upon one ſide, and again replaced when the manati made its eſcape from underneath it. I did not ſo much as ſee the creature, nor indeed hardly had the negro, owing to the darkneſs of the night, which laſted ſome hours

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after;

CHAP. X. after; but during that time we had no further inclination to reſt. At laſt the ſun's bright beams began to dart through the trees and gild the foliage; on which we caſt off from our moorings, and continued rowing up Cormoetibo Creek (which was now very narrow) till near noon, when we diſcovered a ſmoak, and at laſt came to the mouth of the Wana Creek, which runs into the Marawina, and which was the place of rendezvous, where however the troops were not yet arrived; and oppoſite to which were encamped a few of the rangers, to guard the proviſions that were waiting the arrival of Colonel Fourgeoud and his party from Crawaſſibo, and laſt from Patamaca.

One of the rangers having killed a tattu or armadillo, called in Surinam *capaſce*, I ſhall embrace this opportunity of deſcribing it.—This animal is with propriety ſometimes ſtiled a hog-in-armour; its head and ears being much like thoſe of a roaſting pig, and its whole body covered over with hard ſhells like ſhields, ſliding in moveable rings, like thoſe of the *quee-quee* fiſh already mentioned, the one over the other, except on the ſhoulders and the rump, which are covered ſomething like turtle, with one ſolid maſs of unmoveable bone, called by ſome a cuiraſs and a helmet. Of this creature there are many ſpecies in Guiana, the largeſt being from the ſnout to the tip of the tail above three feet in length, of a reddiſh colour, and marked all over with hexangular figures. Its eyes are ſmall, the

tail long and thick at the root, and tapering gradually like a carrot towards the point, and is covered over like the body with moveable rings. This animal has four ſhort legs with four toes, armed with two claws on the fore-feet, and five on thoſe behind. The armadillo walks generally during the night, being ſeldom ſeen through the day, and ſleeps in burrows under ground, which it makes with great facility, and in which it ſticks ſo faſt that the ſtrongeſt man cannot draw it out, though he were to pull its tail with both hands. When attacked or terrified, it forms itſelf into a round ball like a hedge-hog, making its cuiraſs and helmet meet together, in which are encloſed its head, feet, and whole body. This creature feeds on roots, inſects, fruits, birds, &c. and when dreſſed appeared to me a tolerably good diſh, though in general by Europeans it is accounted no great delicacy; the Indians are, however, extremely fond of it.

I ſhall, in this place, alſo take the opportunity of mentioning the Guiana porcupine, which is frequently called here the *adjora*. This animal, which is from its muzzle to the root of the tail ſometimes three feet in length, is covered with hard prickles, the feet, the face, and part of its tail excepted. Theſe prickles are about three inches long, yellow at the root, a dark cheſnut colour in the middle, and white at the points; they are extremely ſharp, highly poliſhed, and moveable, ſerving for the creature's defence, which, when irritated, it dreſſes in

array,

CHAP. X. array, and makes a formidable appearance before its adverſary; at other times theſe prickles lie flat on its back, ſomething like the briſtles of a hog. The head of the porcupine is of a roundiſh make, and joined to the body by a remarkably thick ſhort neck; its eyes are large, bright, and placed under the ears, which are very ſmall and round; it never bites. On each ſide of its noſe it has long whiſkers, very like the otter or the cat; its feet are ſhaped much like thoſe of a monkey, which aſſiſt it in climbing trees to ſeek for its food, in which its long tapering tail is alſo very ſerviceable, which, like a fifth limb, it twiſts about the branches, and which near the extremity is covered over with hair like the face, the under part near the tip only excepted, which is perfectly callous and black, as are alſo the inſide of all its feet. The hedge-hog of this country is, I think, little different from that of the old continent, being about eight or ten inches in length, covered over with pale yellow prickles, but with hair on the face and under the belly, which is rather ſofter and longer than in the hedge-hog of Europe. It has dark brown ſpots like eye-brows over its eyes, and no ears but auditory holes, and five toes with bended claws on each foot; its tail is very ſhort, and its defence conſiſts in forming itſelf into a round ball in the manner of the armadillo. Its food conſiſts of fruit, roots, vegetables, inſects, &c. and its fleſh is not diſeſteemed by the Indians or natives of the country.

Colonel Fourgeoud not having yet arrived, I amuſed myſelf

The Armadillo & Porcupine of Guiana.

London, Published Dec.r 2.d 1793 by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

myfelf with fwimming, and paddling up the mouth of the deep Wana Creek, with a canoe; during which time a Mr. Ruback, one of our officers who was with me, obferved (in the top of a mangrove-tree) a battle between a fnake and a frog; and for an additional proof that frogs are to be found in trees, I refer the reader to the Monthly Review for March 1785, page 199, where, in the Abbé Spallanzani's Differtation upon Frogs, the Tree Frog is particularly mentioned. But finding this animal amongft the branches did not fo much excite my furprize, as the conteft between a fnake and a frog, which I fhall diftinctly relate, and in which the poor frog loft the battle. Indeed when I firft perceived him, his head and fhoulders were already in the jaws of the fnake, which laft appeared to me about the fize of a large kitchen poker, and had its tail twifted round a tough limb of the mangrove; while the frog, who appeared to be the fize of a man's fift, had laid hold of a twig with the claws of its hinder legs, as with hands. In this pofition were they contending, the one for life, the other for his dinner, forming one ftraight line between the two branches, and thus I beheld them for fome time, apparently ftationary, and without a ftruggle. Still I was not without hope, that the poor frog might extricate himfelf by his exertions; but the reverfe was the cafe, for the jaws of the fnake gradually relaxing, and by their elafticity forming an incredible orifice, the body and fore-legs of the frog by little and little difappeared,

 till

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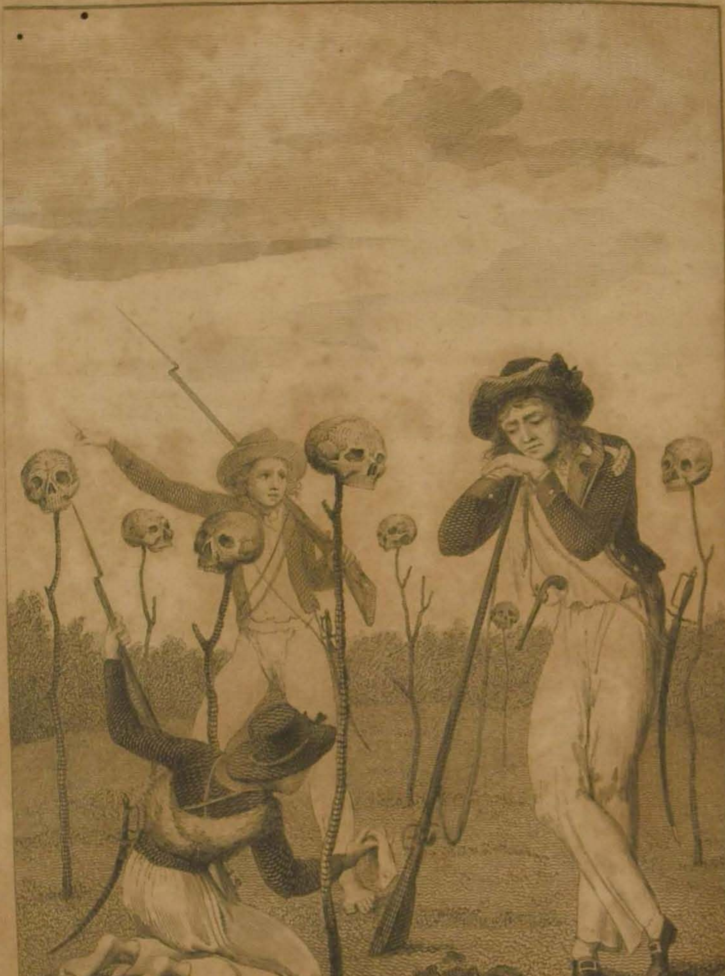
till finally nothing more was feen than the hinder feet and claws, which were at laft difengaged from the twig, and the poor creature was fwallowed whole by fuction down the throat of his formidable adverfary, whence he was drawn fome inches farther down the alimentary canal, and at laft ftuck, forming a knob or knot at leaft fix times as thick as the fnake, whofe jaws and throat immediately contracted and re-affumed their former natural fhape. The fnake being out of our reach, we could not kill him, as we wifhed to do, to take a further examination. Thus we left him, continuing in the fame attitude without moving, and twifted round the branch.

On the third of November, one party of the troops being arrived, and encamped on the fouth-weft fide of the Cormoetibo Creek, about one mile above the mouth of the Wana Creek, I went with a couple of rangers to pay them a vifit; when Major Rughcop, the commanding officer, informed me that Colonel Fourgeoud had marched laft from Patamaca in two columns, of which he led the one, while the other was hourly expected; and that the reft of the regiment was divided between the rivers Cottica, Perica, and Comewina, excepting thofe that were fick in the hofpital at Paramaribo. I was now in excellent health and good fpirits; and in the hopes of being reconciled to Fourgeoud by this voluntary proof of my zeal for the fervice, I returned to the rangers' camp to wait his arrival. I was indeed well acquainted with his irreconcileable



The Scalls of Lieu.t Leppar & Six of his Men

irreconcileable temper, and at the ſame time conſcious of my own wild and ungovernable diſpoſition, when I thought myſelf ill treated; but ſoon forgot trifling injuries, and was now determined, by my active and affable behaviour, to make him my friend if poſſible. CHAP. X.

At length the wiſhed-for hour arrived; and being apprized of Colonel Fourgeoud's approach, I went half a mile from the camp to meet him, acquainting him that I was come *pour participer de la gloire*, and to ſerve under his immediate command, which he having anſwered with a bow, I returned it, and we marched together to the rangers' camp.

The occurrences in this march were the troops taking from the enemy three villages, particularly one called the *Rice Country*, on account of the great quantity of rice which was found there, ſome ripe and ſome in full bloſſom, which we totally deſtroyed, after putting the rebels to flight. Theſe were commanded by one *Bonny*, a relentleſs Mulatto, who was born in the foreſt, and was quite unconnected with Baron's party, which had lately been driven from Boucou. We further learned that they had found ſeven *human ſkulls* ſtuck upon ſtakes, under which lay mouldering the bodies above ground, and part of the garments, (as may be ſeen in the annexed plate) and which proved them to be the remains of the unfortunate Lieutenant *Lepper*, with ſix of his unhappy men, moſt of whom being taken alive, had one by one been ſtripped naked by the rebel negroes at the arrival in their village, and (for the *recreation* of their wives and children) by Bonny's orders flogged to death.

 This

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This information we got from a rebel woman, who had been made a prifoner by Fourgeoud on his march through the above village or *rice condre*, and whom we treated with every kindnefs.

This inhuman conduct in Bonny was directly oppofite to that of Baron, who, notwithftanding all his threats and menaces, it was well known had fent back to Paramaribo different foldiers, whom he might have killed. He even affifted in concealing them from his enraged accomplices, and furnifhed them with provifions, perfectly fenfible that they were not the caufe of the difturbance. But not a ranger, as I have faid before, that had the misfortune to fall into his hands could efcape his ungovernable fury.

On further converfation, we found that the whole party, being nearly ftarved, had conjunctly called out for bread, as it was known that there was plenty in the boxes, but that it had been kept back three days, and rice ferved out in its ftead. To fupprefs this kind of mutiny, the officers had rufhed in amongft the men with cocked piftols and drawn fwords, and indifcriminately laying hold of the firft in their way, had unluckily feized a poor man named *Shmidt*, whom, notwithftanding all the others averred to be innocent, they had, for an example to the reft, baftonaded between two corporals, till the blood gufhed out of his mouth like a fountain;—and thus ended the revolt. One of the conductors, named *Mangol*, difdaining at all to ferve under Colonel Fourgeoud's command, had left him without afking his confent, after which he

forfook

forsook the service entirely. These were the particulars of the march in both columns, from Crawassibo in Comewina to the Wana Creek.

Whilst I was now about noon resting in my hammock very contentedly, I was accosted by my friend Lieutenant *Campbell*, who acquainted me, with tears in his eyes, that the evening before Colonel Fourgeoud had given to the officers of the Surinam Society, not only of that brave and gallant corps the *Scots brigade* in the Dutch service, but of the *British* in general, the most unmerited character that could be invented. I immediately started up; and having got Campbell's information confirmed, went to Fourgeoud, and asked him in public the cause of this unmanly slander. He replied with a stare, that *his* observations only regarded my petticoat-trowsers, which I wore for coolness and conveniency, as many British seamen do, and which he had never seen on the mountains of Switzerland. But as to the rest of what was said respecting us, he laid it totally to the charge of Mr. *Stoelman*, captain of the Cottica militia, who was absent. Thus I could only answer by denouncing, in the severest terms, vengeance upon this assassin of our reputation; and after promising to transform my short trowsers into long ones, we coolly separated.

An hour however after this, I received a sudden order to cross the Cormoetibo River, and be henceforth under the command of Major *Rughcop*, who was with his party

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or column at this time encamped on the fouth-fide at the mouth of Wana Creek. "Force is indeed the ruling "principle in military affairs," fays a certain author; and, upon the whole, could the ingenious advice given to a commander in chief, as publifhed in a late pamphlet, have been read by Colonel Fourgeoud, I muft have imagined he had ftudied it, fentence after fentence, fince nothing could better correfpond with his general character.

Being arrived in Major Rughcop's camp, and having got a couple of negroes to ferve me, the next meafure was to build a hut, or, more properly fpeaking, a fhed over my hammock, to keep me free from the rain and the fun, which was done within the fpace of one hour. As thefe huts are of very material and of general ufe in tropical marches and campaigns, where no tents can be pitched, and where (as I have feen, fo many thoufands of thefe temporary erections) I will defcribe the manner in which they are conftructed, being not only extremely curious, but very ufeful on different occafions—curious, becaufe neither hammers nor nails, nor indeed any kind of carpenter's tools are required; a ftrong cutlafs or bill-hook being all that is wanted,—and ufeful, as they are inftantly raifed, and form not only lafting, but the moft delightful and convenient habitations, with even two ftories, one above the other, if required.—For thefe erections not more than two articles are wanting; the firft the manicole, by the French called *latanie*, and here *parafalla*, or

or the pine-tree; and the ſecond the nebees, called by the French *liannes*, by the Spaniards *bejucos*, and in Surinam *tay-tay*.

The manicole-tree, which is of the palm-tree ſpecies, is moſtly found in marſhy places, and is always a proof of a rich and luxurious ſoil. It is about the thickneſs of a man's thigh, very ſtrait, and grows to the height of from thirty to fifty feet from the ground: the trunk, which is jointed at the diſtance of two or three feet, is of a light-brown colour, hard externally for the thickneſs of half an inch, but pithy, like the Engliſh elder, and good for nothing within, except near the top, where the wood becomes green, and incloſes a delicious kind of white fruit, called cabbage, and which, being peculiar to all the palm-trees, I ſhall on another occaſion amply deſcribe. On the top of all this the manicole-tree ſpreads in beautiful green boughs, with leaves hanging ſtrait downwards like ſilk ribbons, which form a kind of umbrella. The manner of uſing it for building huts or cottages, is by cutting the trunk in pieces of as many feet long as you wiſh to have the partition high; for inſtance, ſeven feet, which pieces are next ſplit into ſmall boards, the breadth of a man's hand, and diveſted of their pithy ſubſtance, and then they are fit for immediate uſe. Having cut and prepared as many of theſe laths as you wanted to ſurround the dwelling, nothing remains but to laſh them in a perpendicular poſition and cloſe to each other to two croſs bars of the ſame tree fixed to the

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the corner posts, and the whole is cut and shaped with the bill-hook alone, and tied together by the nebees or *tay-tay*, which I think have derived their name from our verb *to tie*, since the English had possession of the colony. The nebees are a kind of ligneous ropes of all sizes, both as to length and thickness, that grow in the woods, and climb up along the trees in all directions: they are so plentiful and wonderfully dispersed, that, like the ligneous cordage of the mangrove, they make the forest appear like a large fleet at anchor, killing many of the trees by mere compression, and entwining themselves with each other to the thickness of a ship's cable, without any kind of foliage, which gives them sometimes a wonderful appearance, particularly when ascending lofty trunks in a spiral manner to the top, from which they next hang down to the earth, take root, and re-ascend. Sometimes the thin nebees are so closely interwoven, that they have the appearance of fishing nets, and game cannot get through them. These nebees are exceedingly tough, and may be used for mooring large vessels to the shore. Having only to add, that some of the species are poisonous, especially those that are flat, grooved, or angular, I shall proceed to the roofing of the cottage.

This is done by the green boughs or branches of the same manicole-tree that made the walls, and in the following manner: each bough, which I can compare to nothing so well as to the shape of a feather, and which is

is as large as a man, muſt be ſplit from the top to the bottom in two equal parts, as you would ſplit a pen, when a number of theſe half boughs are tied together by their own verdure, and form a bunch; you next take theſe bunches, and tie them with nebees one above another upon the roof of your cottage, as thick as you pleaſe, and in ſuch a manner that the verdure, which looks like the mane of a horſe, hangs downwards. This covering, which at firſt is green, but ſoon takes the colour of the Engliſh reed-thatching, is very beautiful, laſting and cloſe, and finiſhes your houſe, as I have ſaid, without the help of a hammer or nails; the doors and windows, tables, ſeats, &c. are made in the ſame manner, ſo are the incloſures for gardens, or other places for keeping cattle; and by this conveniency it is that the rebel negroes never want good houſes, which, if burnt to aſhes one day, are again perfectly rebuilt the next, though they never rebuild them exactly in the places where they have once been diſcovered by Europeans. The Indians, inſtead of the manicoles, generally cover their wigwams with *tas* or with *trooly*, of which I ſhall ſpeak on another occaſion. I ought not to forget, that the ſeeds of theſe trees are contained in a ſpatha, near the top, of thirty or forty knotty fibres, forming a ſpecies of broom, for which they are uſed throughout the colony; thus, while the manicole ſupplies the materials for a houſe, it affords alſo the means of keeping it clean. This tree produces alſo the cabbage, which, as I have

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ſaid, is found in all the other palm-trees, &c. The hut that I now lay under was not built in the convenient manner above deſcribed; it was not requiſite, for the ſhort time we generally continued in one place: my habitation conſiſted only of a roof or cover without any walls. The manner of erecting theſe little ſheds, which every private ſoldier builds for himſelf, is ſimply by planting four forked poles in the ground, at ſuch a diſtance that a hammock can conveniently hang between them; next, to reſt two ſhort poles, ſtrong enough to ſupport the weight of the body in the above forks, the one at the head and the other at the feet, to which are faſtened the clews of the hammock. On the other extremities of theſe are laid two long ſticks, and on them again two ſhort ones, and thus alternately two long and two ſhort, all which diminiſh by degrees. When the whole is finiſhed, the top muſt be covered with branches from the manicole, exactly as they grow, without either ſplitting or tying them, and as thick as the ſeaſon may require.

When this temporary fabric is completely finiſhed, it will not only keep dry both the inhabitants and their boxes, but (by the help of the nebees) fuzees, ſwords, piſtols, &c. may be ſuſpended from the rafters. As I have been deſcribing the manicole, I am induced alſo to mention the cocoa-nut tree, as I think it reſembles that more than any of the palm ſpecies. This tree, which is ſo much celebrated, as affording to man food, clothing, ſhelter, &c. poſſeſſes not, in my opinion, all thoſe qualities, but

but ſtill is well worthy of notice. It grows like the former, in a tall jointed trunk, ſometimes from ſixty to above eighty feet high, and is thick in proportion, but ſeldom perpendicularly ſtraight: its bark is of a grey colour; the wood is hard without, but pithy within, like the elder in Great Britain; its branches are larger, and of a deeper green, than thoſe of the manicole-tree, but are equally divided, with pinnated leaves on both ſides, which in the other I compared to green ribbons; but they neither hang ſo ſtraight downwards, nor are the branches regularly arched, which gives them the appearance of large feathers, and they ſpring up at the top, in proportion as they fade and go off at the bottom: the cocoa-tree alſo produces a cabbage at its ſummit, but is too valuable to be cut down for the ſake of a prize ſo inadequate to the loſs of its other produce. It bears the nuts when ſix or eight years old, after which period it is never ſeen without them; they grow uſually ſix or eight on one ſtalk, which diverges from the heart of the tree; they are the ſize of a man's head, but more conical. The nut, it is well known, when diveſted of its huſk, is exceedingly hard, and requires a hammer to break it, or to be ſawed through the middle to procure the nouriſhment it affords; when young, this conſiſts of a white liquid, which I can compare to nothing better than to milk and water mixed with ſugar, and which is an exceedingly cool and agreeable beverage; but at a riper period this is formed into a criſp kernel, which adheres cloſe to the inſide of the ſhell

 for

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for about half an inch thick, while it remains perfectly hollow within. This kernel, which has a fine flavour, and taftes like the liquid, is good eating, as moft of my readers have probably experienced.

In the plate annexed, *A*, is the manicole-tree; *B*, the trunk fplit into laths; *C*, the nebees to tie them together; *D*, the leaf fplit from the top downwards; and *E*, the fame tied into bunches; *F*, is the cocoa-nut tree; *G*, the figure of one of its branches; *H*, the cocoa-nut in the green hufk; and *I*, the fame diverted of that outer fubftance.

But to proceed with my narrative.—While we continued in this ftation, one morning, being returned from a patrole, with twenty marines and twenty rangers, and fitting round a fpecies of table to take fome dinner with the other officers, I was rudely infulted by a Captain *Meyland*, of the Society troops, who, as I faid, with Lieutenant Fredericy, had taken Boucou, and who was Colonel Fourgeoud's countryman and friend. The affront confifted in Meyland's handing round to each a drop of claret, he having indeed but one bottle left, and, in an impertinent manner, excepting me alone, although I held the glafs in my hand to receive it. Juftly fufpecting this infult to originate from my commander in chief, rather than appear to feek a quarrel, I endeavoured to make an apology, telling him, I had inadvertently erred in holding out my glafs, not imagining I was to be diftinguifhed from the other officers; affuring him it was not for the value of his wine, which I politely relinquifhed to my

next

The Manicole & the Cocoa-Nut Tree.

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next neighbour; but this co... ſion had no other effect than to increaſe the wra... of my fierce adverſary, who, apparently miſtaking i... or puſillanimity, became over-bearing and ſcurril..., in which he was ſeconded by all the other Swiſs ... Germans without exception. I ſaid no more, and ...ving tore away a wing of a boiled bird called *pow*..., that ſtood before me (which bird had been ſh... by one of the rangers) I devoured it with little cere...ony, and left the table, with a determination to ſu...port my character or die. Thus reſolved, I firſt went to the hut of a ſick ſoldier, whoſe ſabre I borrowed (my own being broken) on pretence of going out to cut a few ſticks; after this I went in queſt of Mr. Meyland, and found him contentedly ſmoking his pipe by the water-ſide, looking at one of his friends who was angling. Having tapped him on the ſhoulder, I haſtily told him, before the other, that now if he did not fight me that inſtant like a gentleman, I was determined to take revenge another way, with the flat of my ſabre, where he ſtood. He at firſt declared that he had only meant a joke, and ſeemed for peace; but perceiving that I perſiſted, he with great *ſang froid* knocked the tobacco-aſhes from his pipe againſt the heel of his ſhoe; then having brought *his* ſabre, we walked together without ſeconds about half a mile into the wood: here I ſtopt the captain ſhort, and drawing my weapon, now deſired him to ſtand on his defence; this he did, but at the ſame time obſerved, that as the point of his ſword was broken off, we were unequally armed; and ſo indeed we were, *his* being

CHAP. X. ſtill near one foot long than my own; therefore calling to him that *ſabres* w not made to thruſt, but to cut with, I offered to make an change; but he refuſing, I dropped mine on the ground, d eagerly with both hands endeavoured to wreſt his fr him, till (as I had hold of it by the blade) I ſaw the blood rickle down all my fingers, and I was obliged to let go. now graſped my own ſabre, with which I ſtruck at him m y times, but without the leaſt effect, as he parried every bl with the utmoſt facility; at laſt, with all his force, he ma a cut at my head, which, being conſcious I could not wa off by my ſkill, I bowed under it, and at the ſame inſtant ſtriking ſideways for his throat, had the good fortune to make a gaſh in the thick part of his right arm at leaſt ſix inches long, the two lips of which appeared through his blue jacket, and in conſequence of which his right-hand came down dangling by his ſide. I had, however, not eſcaped entirely unhurt, for his ſabre, having paſſed through my hat without touching my ſcull, had glanced to my right ſhoulder, and cut it about one inch deep. At this time I inſiſted on his aſking my pardon, or on firing both our piſtols left-handed; but he choſe the firſt, which ended the battle. I now reminded him that ſuch Swiſs jokes were always too ſerious to Engliſhmen; when we ſhook hands, and I conducted him, covered with blood, to the ſurgeon of his own corps, who having ſewed up the wound, he went to his hammock, and for the ſpace of ſeveral weeks performed no duty. Thus was I reconciled to Captain Meyland;

Meyland; and what gave me the greateſt ſatisfaction, was his acknowledging the affront was offered, as finding it would be agreeable to Fourgeoud to have me mortified; and indeed ever after this acknowledgment we lived in the utmoſt intimacy. Peace, however, was not yet decreed to be my lot, for that very afternoon I found myſelf under the neceſſity of challenging two other officers, who had eſpouſed Meyland's quarrel againſt me at dinner; but in this I had the ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing my character without violence or bloodſhed, both of the gentlemen acknowledged their error; and I became at once the favourite of the camp.

On the 9th of November both columns met, and encamped together on the north ſide of the Wana Creek, near its mouth, where it runs into the Cormoetibo, placing advanced guards at both creeks, at one mile diſtance from it; and this very evening I took the opportunity of acquainting Colonel Fourgeoud, that I had nearly cut off the head of his beloved countryman in a duel (well knowing he muſt be informed of it by others); which treſpaſs he was not only pleaſed graciouſly to pardon, but to tell me with a ſmile that I was a *brave garçon*, but in thoſe ſmiles I put no more truſt than I would in the tears of a crocodile.

My doubts of his friendſhip were ſoon confirmed, ſince my only true friend, Campbell, going down ſick to Devil's Harwar, he would not ſo much as allow the boat or ponkee to wait till I had finiſhed a letter, directed to Joanna,

for

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for ſome clean linen; however, a ranger (of which corps I by this time was become a remarkable favourite) found means to enable me to overtake this poor young man in a corialla or ſmall canoe, compoſed of one ſingle piece of timber; when, ſhaking hands with Campbell, we ſeparated with tears, and I never ſaw him more, for he died in a few days after. Colonel Fourgeoud now being determined to ſcour the north banks of the Cormoetibo, we broke up in two columns, viz. his own firſt, and that of Major Rughcop, to which laſt I ſtill belonged, following; we left behind a ſtrong guard, with the proviſions for the ſick. Before we ſet out, I ſhall ſpecify the ſubſtance of our orders to be obſerved on a march, as iſſued ſince by the chief on the 15th of Auguſt 1774 at Caraſſibo, and which, though nine months after this date, (being rather late) are ſo judicious, that they do infinite honour to his Adjutant Captain Van Giurike, who had the principal ſhare in their compoſition: in

Article I. Quietneſs and ſobriety was ſtrongly recommended.

Article II. On pain of death none to fire without receiving orders.

Article III. Alſo death to whoever quits or loſes his arms.

Article IV. The ſame puniſhment for thoſe who dare to plunder while they are engaging the enemy.

Article V. An officer and ſerjeant to inſpect the diſtribution of the victuals at all times; and

Article

Article VI. Each officer to be limited in the number of his black attendants.

The other orders were, " That in caſe our marines " marched in two or three diviſions or columns, they " were to mark the trees with a ſabre or bill-hook, to " give intelligence to each other where they had paſſed, " in the manner noticed on Plate XX. where *A*, *B*, and *C*, " denote the marks cut by our firſt, ſecond, and third " diviſion or column, and *D*, *E*, and *F*, the marks made " by the ſeveral diviſions or columns of the troops of the " Surinam ſociety; which marks were to be cut in " ſuch trees only as were on the left ſide in marching. " Alſo when the troops marched over ſandy deſarts, heaths, " or ſavannahs, they were occaſionally to drop ſmall twigs " or reeds, tied together in the form of a croſs: and in " each camp, on the troops leaving it, were to be left a " bottle and blank paper; but if any thing particular " ſhould happen, the ſame to be ſpecified thereon. In " caſe of the troops being attacked on a march, a ſmall " entrenchment was to be formed of the baggage-boxes, " at the back of which the negro ſlaves were to lie flat on " the ground; and this entrenchment to be defended by " the rear-guard only, while the other troops had orders " not to linger on the defenſive, but vigorouſly, with " bayonets fixed, to ruſh in upon the enemy's fire; never- " theleſs humanely giving quarter to all ſuch as ſhould " be taken alive, or ſurrender themſelves to the troops." Theſe were the ſtated rules of our future military conduct; but for the preſent I beg leave to obſerve, that

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every thing was in the moſt unaccountable hurry and confuſion. In this way, however, we proceeded, keeping our courſe toward the mouth of the Cormoetibo Creek, each officer provided with a pocket compaſs, by which we were to ſteer, like ſailors, through a dark wood, where nothing is to be ſeen but the heavens, as at ſea nothing appears but clouds and water: thus thoſe who were acquainted with navigation were the beſt qualified for marching, and ran the leaſt hazard of loſing themſelves in a black unbounded foreſt. But thoſe wretches who moſt deſervedly attracted my pity, were the miſerable negro ſlaves, who were bending under their loads; whoſe heads, on which they carry all burthens, bore the bald marks of their ſervitude;—they were driven forward like oxen, and condemned to ſubſiſt on half allowance, while they performed double drudgery. In ſhort, to increaſe our misfortune, though in the dry ſeaſon, the rains began to pour down from the heavens like a torrent, continuing all night: during this deluge (according to Colonel Fourgeoud's order) we were all ordered to encamp without huts or other covering of any kind, flinging our hammocks between two trees, under which, upon two ſmall forked ſticks, were placed our fire-arms, as the only method of keeping the priming-powder dry in the pan; above this piece of architecture did I hang, like Mahomet betwixt the two loadſtones, with my ſabre and piſtols in my boſom, and, in ſpite of wind and weather, fell moſt profoundly aſleep.

On the 14th, at five o'clock in the morning, I was

awaked by the ſound of Up! up! up! when the rain ſtill continuing, the half of the officers and men were ſick, and I roſe from my hammock ſoaked as in a waſh-tub; having ſecured the lock of my firelock, in imitation of the rangers, with a piece of the bark of a palm-tree, and ſwallowing a dram, with a piece of dry ruſk biſcuit, for my breakfaſt, we again marched on. But I ought not to forget mentioning the negroes, who had the whole night ſlept in the water on the ground, and yet were in better health than any of the Europeans. Had we now been attacked by the enemy, we muſt inevitably have been all cut to pieces, being diſabled from reſiſting with our fire-arms, in which not only the priming but even many of the cartridges were completely wet; this might have been prevented by having caſed and waxed down our arms, as is practiſed by the buccaneers of America; but theſe were trifles not to be thought of: one thing, however, now happened which threatened to be no trifle, and that was, that the proviſions were gone, and thoſe we expected to meet us in the creek not arrived, having by ſome miſtake been neglected. By this accident we were now reduced, officers and men without exception, to ſubſiſt on one ruſk biſcuit and water for our allowance for twenty-four hours, to keep us from ſtarving*: while it is to be remarked, that Monſieur Laurant, our hero's

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* This ruſk biſcuit is made of a coarſe rye loaf, cut in two, and baked as hard as a ſtone; I often broke it with my fuzee, and was glad to eat it, though mouldered, and impregnated with worms, ſpiders, gravel, and even broken bottles.

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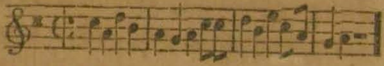
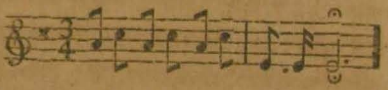
French valet-de-chambre, who had charge of the provifion, was blown down to Baram's point, and another time funk with all the provifions; which produced the impertinent remark from fome of the foldiers, that the devil had miftaken him for his mafter. In the midft however of this diftrefs, we were again prefented by one of the rangers with a large bird, called here *booffy-caicoo*, being a fpecies of wild turkey; of this fortunate acquifition it was refolved in the evening to make broth, each throwing a piece of his rufk bifcuit into the kettle, and (ftanding round the fire) beginning to ladle away as foon as the broth began to boil, which had another virtue, viz. notwithftanding its being put over at fix o'clock in the evening, at twelve o'clock at midnight the kettle was juft as full as the firft moment we had begun fupper, though the broth was rather weaker I muft acknowledge, the heavy rain having dafhed into it without intermiffion. During this fevere ftorm we were as deftitute of huts as the night before, but I availed myfelf once more of my Englifh petticoat trowfers, which, loofening from my middle, I hung about my fhoulders, and continuing to turn round before the fire (like a fowl roafting on a ftring) I paffed the hours with rather more comfort than my miferable coughing companions. All I can fay of the bird above mentioned is, that I thought it differed little from the common turkeys, which here frequently weigh above twenty pounds.

The largeft bird in Guiana is there called *tuyew*, and by others

others *emu*. It is a middle ſpecies between the oſtrich and the caſſowary, as I was told, for I never ſaw one in the country: it is ſaid to be about ſix feet high, from the top of the head to the ground; its head is ſmall, its bill flat, the neck and limbs long, the body round, without a tail, and of a whitiſh grey colour; its thighs are remarkably thick and ſtrong, and it has three toes on each foot, while the oſtrich has but two. This bird, it is ſaid, cannot fly at all, but runs very ſwiftly; and, like the oſtrich, aſſiſts its motion with its wings: it is moſtly found near the upper parts of the rivers Marawina and Seramica. When ſpeaking about birds, notwithſtanding few of them *ſing* here with any degree of melody, for which the beauty of their plumage is thought by ſome to compenſate; I was, during this march, ſo much charmed with two in particular, that I was induced to put their ſweet notes to muſic. Thoſe of the firſt

Rather quick 

The ſecond ſlow 

Theſe notes they ſung ſo true, ſo ſoft, and to ſuch proper time, that in any other place I ſhould have been inclined to believe they were the performance of a human artiſt upon his flute. As I never ſaw either of thoſe birds but imperfectly and at a diſtance, I can ſay nothing more concerning them, than that they are frequently heard in marſhy ſituations.

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On the ſucceeding morning we marched again through very heavy rains, which by this time had ſwelled the water ſo high in the woods that it reached above our knees, and prevented us from croſſing a ſmall creek in our way, without the help of a temporary bridge.

I prevailed therefore on the rangers, with the help of a few ſlaves, to erect one, which they did in the ſpace of forty minutes, by cutting down a ſtraight tree, which fell directly acroſs the creek, to this they alſo made a kind of railing; but ſtill with this our commander Rughcop, whoſe temper was ſoured by miſery, and whoſe conſtitution was already broken by hardſhips, was not pleaſed. He paid the rangers for their pains with oaths and reproaches, who, with a ſmile of contempt, left him ſwearing, and croſſed the creek, ſome by ſwimming, and others by climbing up a tree whoſe branches hung over it, from which they dropped down on the oppoſite ſhore; in this I followed their example: and here we ſtopped till the arrival of the poor trembling and debilitated Major Rughcop, with two-thirds of his troops as ſick as himſelf.

I ſtill continued in perfect health, but I was much ſtung by different inſects, and torn by a thouſand thorns or *maccaws*, particularly one ſpecies, which are ſtrong black prickles of ſeveral inches long, that break ſhort in the wound; they project like the back of a porcupine, on a kind of low or dwarf palm-tree, called the *cocareeta*, whoſe large branches diverge from the earth like the fire of a fuſee from a bomb. Another inconvenience to

be met with throughout all the low and marſhy places in the foreſt, is a kind of roots called *matakee*, and more vulgarly trumpets, on account of the form, reſembling the windings of that inſtrument, which riſe above ground like nebees, three or four feet high, continuing thus to an almoſt endleſs length, and ſo thick that, like our brambles, no dog can get through them; over theſe *matakees* it is extremely difficult to walk, as they every moment catch hold of the feet, and frequently trip up the body, unleſs at every footſtep care is taken to ſtep clear over them, which for ſhort-limbed men is an abſolute impoſſibility. With this inconvenience we were troubled throughout the whole march; but we had no opportunity of falling in with any kind of good roots, vegetables, or fruits for food, except a few *maripas*, which are a ſpecies of nuts that grow on a tall palm-tree, and are very much like the *aweyza* that I have already deſcribed, only larger, and leſs of an orange colour, the ſtone and kernel being exactly the ſame.

We marched again with better weather, and arrived before noon at Jeruſalem, near the mouth of Cormoetibo Creek, where I had formerly halted during my cruiſe. Here Colonel Fourgeoud, with his drooping ſoldiers, was arrived juſt before us; and here we made our appearance, in ſuch a ſhocking ſituation as will ſcarcely admit of deſcription. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the whole little army was exhauſted by famine and fatigue, a very ſmall number excepted; while ſeveral, unable to walk at

all,

CHAP. X. all, had been carried upon poles by negro ſlaves in their hammocks: and during all this time we had diſcovered nothing. One thing is to be conſidered, that while the old gentleman himſelf went through all the above-mentioned hardſhips, (to which he ſeemed as invulnerable as a machine of iron or braſs) we had the leſs reaſon to complain of bad uſage. In ſhort, having as uſual plunged in the river, to waſh off the mire and blood occaſioned by the ſcratches, and having taken a refreſhing ſwim, I looked round for my negroes to erect a comfortable hut; but in this I was diſappointed, as they were employed by Mr. Rughcop to build his kitchen, although he had as yet nothing to dreſs in it. This piece of unpoliteneſs I for once overlooked; and the rangers having made me a nice bed of manicole-branches on the ground, (there being no trees in the place to fling a hammock) and having lighted a blazing fire by the ſide of it, I lay quietly down next to them on my green mattreſs, where, in a clear moonſhine night and no rain, I fell ſound aſleep. But about two hours before day-break I awaked, when the fire was out, the moon was down, and I almoſt dead with the cold dew and the damp that exhaled from the earth, being ſo ſtiff and benumbed that I had ſcarcely ſtrength to crawl on hands and feet, and awake one of my ſable companions; he, however, having kindled a new fire, I recruited ſo as at ſix o'clock to be able to riſe, but with ſuch excruciating pain in one of my ſides that I could not avoid groaning aloud; but to prevent Fourgeoud and

and the others from hearing, I hid myfelf in the fkirts of the wood; the pain however ftill augmenting, I foon was prevented from breathing without the greateft difficulty, and at laft fell down behind the rotten trunk of an old cabbage-tree. In this fituation I was difcovered by one of the negro flaves who was going to cut rafters, and who, fuppofing me dead, ran inftantly back, and alarmed the whole camp. I was taken up and carried in a hammock, by the care of a Captain Medler, under proper cover, and one of the Society furgeons inftantly fent for to attend me. By this time I was furrounded by fpectators, and the pain in my fide became fo acute, that, like one in the hydrophobia, I tore my fhirt with my teeth, and bit whatever chanced to come near me; till being rubbed by a warm hand on my fide with a kind of ointment, the complaint fuddenly vanifhed like a dream, and I felt myfelf completely recovered.

To prevent a relapfe, however, the firft ufe that I made of my ftrength was to cut a cudgel, with which I fwore to murder the Berbice ruffian, Geufary, who had the management of the flaves, if he did not inftantaneoufly employ them to build for me a comfortable hut, let who would order the contrary, my life being the deareft thing I had to regard; and following him clofe at his heels, with my cudgel clubbed upon my fhoulder, I had the fatisfaction to be well houfed in the fpace of two hours. I muft not omit, that Colonel Fourgeoud, during the crifis

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CHAP. X. of my illneſs, had made me an offer of being tranſported to Devil's Harwar; but this I refuſed.

On the 18th the news arrived, that poor Campbell died on the preceding day; and now Major Rughcop himſelf was ſent down extremely ill, being the eleventh ſick officer during this ſhort campaign. Being now almoſt ſtarving for want of proviſions, we were moſt opportunely ſupplied by a quantity of fiſh, particularly the *jackee*, already deſcribed as changing to a frog; and the *warappa*, which is of the ſame ſize, and equally good, both being very rich and fat; theſe fiſh were ſo plentiful in the marſhes, where they were left by the retreating waters, that our negroes caught many with their hands, but moſtly by ſtriking at hazard in the mud with their bill-hooks and ſabres; after which, graſping with their fingers, they brought up pieces and half fiſhes in great abundance. Another fiſh they alſo caught in the creek, called *coemma-coemma*, which is from one to three feet long, exceedingly ſweet, but not near ſo delicious as the *jackee*, or *warappa*, which two laſt the negroes generally ſmoak-dry or barbacue, and which I was glad to eat without either bread or ſalt. The barbacuing conſiſts in laying the fiſh upon twigs of wood above the fire, where, by the ſmoak, they dry to a conſiſtency that gives them no diſagreeable taſte, and will preſerve them for ſeveral weeks together: thus prepared, they require no further dreſſing.

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On the 20th we detached a captain, with twenty privates and twenty rangers, to reconnoitre the demolifhed village of Boucou: on the following day Major Rughcop died; and now Colonel Fourgeoud refolved to march himfelf to Boucou, leaving me the command of four hundred men, white and black, two hundred of whom were fick in their hammocks; but of that number I tranfported thirty to die at Devil's Harwar, while I fent fixty rangers with leave down to Paramaribo. Thefe latter went away declaring, that Fourgeoud's operations were only calculated to murder his own troops inftead of the enemy's. Such is the nature of the negroes, that where they know nothing is likely to be done, they will not march; it is indeed extremely difficult to maintain proper difcipline among them, and when they expect to fee the enemy, nothing can poffibly keep them back. It is amazing to obferve, with what fkill one negro difcovers the haunts of another: while an European difcerns not the fmalleft veftige of a man's foot in the foreft, the roving eye of the negro-ranger catches the broken fprig, and faded leaf trod flat, without ever miffing it; but when he finds the marks of the enemy being near, he can then no longer be reftrained. This undoubtedly is inconfiftent with modern tactics, but indicates that fpirit of liberty, which in antient times alone completed the valiant foldier; and fuch was at this time the native and natural fpirit of a people, who had but yefterday been flaves.

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On the evening of the 21ſt, I availed myſelf once more of being commandant, by ſending two barges for proviſions, the one to La Rochelle and the other to Devil's Harwar, which laſt brought back a box with Boſton biſcuit, ſent me from Paramaribo.

On this day two ſlaves were put in confinement, accuſed of having taken pork from the magazine; and I was addreſſed by the troops to inflict an exemplary puniſhment, the common ſoldiers deſpiſing the negro ſlaves, as in their imagination greatly below themſelves, and ſtupidly conſidering them as the cauſes of their diſtreſs. Having found a large piece of pork in their cuſtody, yet having no proof that was ſufficient to eſtabliſh the theft, I found myſelf greatly at a loſs to diſtribute juſtice with ſatisfaction to both parties; the Europeans unmercifully accuſing, and the poor ſlaves vindicating their ſtarved companions in ſuch a clamorous ſtyle, that the whole camp was in an uproar. The firſt perſiſted that the latter had ſtolen it, and the others that they had ſaved it from their allowance, to take to their families. Affecting, therefore, the ſtile of a deſpotic prince, I ordered firſt a ring to be formed of the plaintiffs, and next the priſoners to be let within it. I then, with a ſtern and loud voice, commanded a block and a hatchet to be brought. It was with heart-felt ſatisfaction that I found this ſolemn apparatus, and the apprehenſion that we might commit a raſh and criminal action, ſoon diſpelled every feeling of reſent-

resentment in the soldiers, and I was implored by the very accusers to shew mercy. Obdurately stopping my ear, however, to all intreaty from either side, I made a strong negro slave take up the hatchet, and instantly chop the *pork* into three equal pieces; when, giving one share to the prosecutors, another to the malefactors, and the third to the executioner for having *so well* done his duty, the farce was ended to general satisfaction, and I heard no more of robberies or complaints.

On the 24th in the evening, two officers of the Surinam Society troops arrived from Devil's Harwar, recovered from their late indisposition. One of them, calling himself Le Baron de Z—b—h, and being infected with the *esprit de corps*, on his arrival seemed determined to espouse Captain Meyland's cause, abruptly alledging, that I had disgraced him by epithets unbecoming his dignity. I was amazed, and being conscious of my innocence, endeavoured to explain the matter in a friendly manner, in which I was seconded by a Mr. Rulagh, one of my officers; but the German, instead of being appeased, grew more outrageous, and plainly told me that he insisted on satisfaction. I never had less inclination to battle in all my life, I therefore left him without a reply, and walked towards my hut in the most gloomy mood imaginable. It was not long, however, before I felt my indignation suddenly re-kindle, when, armed with my sabre and pistols, I returned, fully determined to end the quarrel in the moon-shine. But now, finding the Barôn retired to his hammock, I dispatched Mr. Rulagh with a

 summons,

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fummons, defiring he would tell him, that if he did not inftantly turn out to fight me, I fhould come in, cut down the clews of his hammock with my knife, and treat him as I thought his pride and infolence deferved. Upon this appeared a figure that will never be effaced from my memory.

The Baron was more than the middle fize, extremely thin and fallow, his meagre vifage ornamented with a pair of enormous red whifkers under the nofe, while a white *queue* near three feet long adorned his graceful back. He was in his under-waiftcoat, and walked on ftocking foles, which were black filk, darned with white worfted; thefe hanging down upon his heels, difcovered his miferable fpindle fhanks; while on his head he wore a ftriped worfted night-cap of all colours, alfo in many holes; and over his breech his valour was difplayed by his colours, which hung out, but the *blazon* of which I muft not attempt to defcribe. Such was the figure that now, with all humiliation, offered to give me a *bufs*, and intreated my forgivenefs, pretending not to have underftood me; which *laft* I having granted with a loud laugh and a dram of brandy, he faced about, and by the quick ftep re-entered his den.

On the 26th Colonel Fourgeoud, with his party, returned from his trip to Boucou, having furrounded three ftraggling rebel negroes unarmed, as they were cutting a cabbage-tree for their fubfiftence. While one of them, called *Paffup*, had efcaped, another was taken alive, and a third, with his thigh fhot to fhivers by a flug cartridge,

was

was firſt laſhed hands and feet, and thus carried by two negroes on a pole, in the manner of a hog or a beer-barrel, bearing all the weight of his body upon his ſhattered limbs, which were dropping with blood, without a plaiſter or a bandage to cover the wounds, and with his head hanging downwards all the time; in which manner the unhappy youth, for he had not the appearance of being twenty, had been brought through thick and thin for above ſix miles diſtance from the camp, while he might juſt as well have been carried in one of the ſpare hammocks of the ſoldiers. I was ſhocked and ſurpriſed at this act of barbarity in Fourgeoud, whom I never had obſerved to be cruel in his cooler moments to an individual; indeed I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, quite the reverſe, unleſs he was oppoſed, as I muſt own he ſometimes was by me; but on this occaſion he was ſo flattered with this trophy of victory, that every ſpark of feeling and humanity was extinct. The body being laid on a table, I implored one of the ſurgeons, called Pino, to dreſs his wounds; on which, that he might ſeem to do ſomething, he put juſt as many round patches as the ſlugs had made holes, declaring he could never recover, and ſinging *Dragons pour boire* during the operation.—Poor negro! what muſt have been his feelings! The fever increaſing, he begged for ſome water, which I gave him myſelf clean out of my hat, when he ſaid, "Thank ye, me Maſera," ſighed, and, to my inexpreſſible ſatisfac-

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[library stamp]

CHAP. X.

tion, inftantly expired. His companion, called September, was more fortunate, for Fourgeoud, in hopes of making fome difcoveries, regaled and treated him with more diftinction than he did any of his officers; while September, looking as wild as a fox newly caught, was put in the ftocks during the night; and his companion was interred by the negro flaves, with thofe marks of commiferation which his unhappy fate demanded from every human being. According to their cuftom, they fpread his grave with the green boughs of the palm-trees, and offered a part of their fcanty allowance by way of libation. The following day Mr. Stoelman, the militia captain, being arrived, to ftay one day only in the camp, I took the opportunity to remind Colonel Fourgeoud of what he had told me concerning his unbecoming infinuations, which I begged him now to repeat in that gentleman's hearing, as I was determined to have this matter cleared up, and to obtain that fatisfaction to which I thought myfelf entitled. But the gallant Colonel was not eafily brought to proof.—He now imputed all the blame to Major Rughcop, who was dead, and requefted of me to fay nothing more about it. I left him with contempt, and fhook hands with my fuppofed adverfary; and then, to his inexpreffible furprize, told him all that had happened. The confequence was, that in lefs than two hours the captain quitted Fourgeoud and Jerufalem in difguft, and was followed by the remaining rangers.

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On the 29th, Captain de Borgnes was made major in Rughcop's place; but no new fubalterns were created, Fourgeoud declaring he had no more materials to fabricate them with: which in part might be true amongft the ferjeants; but two brave youths, both gentlemen's fons, who had entered as volunteers, and gone through every danger and fatigue, remained unnoticed in the ranks, the one named *Sheffer*, the other *Meyer*;—fuch ever was, and ever will be, *too frequently*, the confequence of wanting friends and fortune.

"Et genus et virtus nifi cum re vilior alga eft."

CHAP. XI.

The Troops march back to the Wana Creek—The Rebels paſs near the Camp—Purſued without Succeſs—Great Diſtreſs for Want of Water—Mineral Mountains—The Troops arrive at La Rochelle, in Patamaca.

CHAP. XI.

ON the 30th of November, 1773, the whole of the troops broke up together, and leaving Jeruſalem, we once more marched back to the Wana Creek, but did not keep exactly the track that had brought us thither: Colonel Fourgeoud, however, revoking his former orders, now allowed his remaining party to fling their hammocks *under cover*, of which indeed *he*, at this criſis, condeſcended to ſet them the example; thus were we at leaſt more comfortably lodged, but, I am ſorry to add, not more comfortably victualled, while the old gentleman himſelf wanted for nothing that was good.

We continued our march for three days ſucceſſively, with good weather; but I was every night awaked out of my ſound ſleep by a ſentinel, who was ſent by the colonel's orders to diſturb me, with a charge of having *whiſtled* or *ſpoke*.

On the 3d we arrived once more at the Wana Creek. Here, after a fatiguing march, I flattered myſelf with the hope of recruiting my exhauſted ſtrength and ſpirits by a quiet night's reſt; but was once more awoken, though ſo

ſo ſound was my ſleep, that the ſentinel was obliged to ſhake me three or four times by the ſhoulder. I then ſtarted up, denying the charge; but Fourgeoud himſelf, ſitting upright in his hammock, now ſwore, in a tremendous voice, that he was determined to *hang* and *quarter* whoever ſhould dare to diſobey his orders, the dark and gloomy woods reſounding with his bellowing threats. A deadly ſilence ſucceeded this ſtorm throughout the camp, till I happened to break it, by burſting out into an immoderate fit of laughter, in which I was inſtantly accompanied by ſo many others, that he began to roar like thunder, without being able to diſtinguiſh one perſon's voice from another. In this muſic he was ſeconded by a large toad, called here the *pipa*, to which monſter he actually gave ſhelter in his hut, and which kept croaking every night, with ſuch a voice as could only be exceeded by Fourgeoud himſelf, or by that of his countryman, a Swiſſerland bear. Morpheus I now invoked to befriend me again, but to no purpoſe, ſuch was the impreſſion which theſe ſeveral roarings had left on my mind;—and in this gloomy temper I ſhall deſcribe this hateful gloomy animal, the colonel's dear companion, *viz.* the *pipa*, the largeſt of all the toads in South America, if not in the world.

The *pipa* is an animal ſuppoſed by ſome to partake of both the nature of the frog and the toad. It is the moſt hideous of all creatures upon earth, covered over with a dark brown ſcrophulous ſkin, very uneven, and marked with irregular black ſpots; the hinder feet of the crea-

CHAP. XI. ture are webbed, and the toes longer than thofe before: thus it can both fwim and leap like a frog, in which it differs from other toads. Its fize is often larger than a common *duck* when plucked and pinioned; and its croaking, which takes place generally in the night, inconceivably loud. But what is moft remarkable in this monfter, is the manner of its propagation: the young ones being hatched till they become tadpoles, in a kind of watery cells on the back of the mother, in which the embrio's exiftence firft commences; for on the back fhe is impregnated by the male, and thence iffues this moft extraordinary birth.

Toads are not venomous, as is generally imagined, and are even tameable: as, for inftance, Mr. Awcott fed one for many years, and Colonel Fourgeoud kept his as a domeftic favourite during the whole time of our campaign at Wana Creek; indeed I myfelf have fince lodged a tame *frog*. That the laft mentioned animals are eatable as far as their thighs, I alfo know by experience: but their tafte is extremely infipid.

To return at once to my hammock and journal,—The croaking of this pipa; the hammering of another, which produces a loud and conftant found of *tuck*, *tuck*, *tuck*, from fun-fet to fun-rife; the howling of the baboons; the hiffing of the fnakes, tigers, &c.; to which add the growling of Fourgeoud, and fometimes heavy rains into the bargain, made the night very uncomfortable and gloomy indeed. The rifing fun, however, difpelled my refentment; and having taken a found nap during the day, I was as well

after it, and as well pleaſed, as the foreſt of Guiana could make me. CHAP. XI.

On the morning of the 4th, I diſcovered a couple of fine *powefas* on the branches of a high tree near the camp, and requeſted liberty from the chief to ſhoot one of them, which however was bluntly refuſed me, on pretence that the enemy might hear the report of my muſquet, though by the way, if it be not a ſolecism ſo to expreſs myſelf, they knew better where we were than we did ourſelves. A little after, however, a large ſnake appearing on the top of another tree, it was ordered to be ſhot immediately, whether from fear or antipathy I know not. On the diſcharge of the muſquet the animal fell to the ground, quite alive, and ſlided inſtantly into a thicket near the magazine. Upon this occaſion I had an opportunity of remarking the uncommon intrepidity of a ſoldier, who creeping in after the reptile, brought it out from among the brambles, ſuperſtitiouſly pretending that he was invulnerable to its bite. However this may be, the ſnake, which was above ſix feet long, erected its head and half its body ſucceſſively to attack him, and he as often knocked it down with his fiſt, and at laſt with his ſabre ſevered it in two pieces, which ended the battle; for doing which he was regaled by Fourgeoud with a dram of rum.

Leſt I ſhould be accuſed of introducing a word which is probably new and unintelligible to my readers, I will beg leave to add, that the *poweſa*, or peacock-pheaſant of Guiana,

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Guiana, is a beautiful bird indeed, about the ſize of a common turkey, to which it bears a reſemblance both in appearance and taſte. Its feathers are a ſhining black, except on the belly; its legs are yellow, and alſo its bill, except near the point, where it is blue and arched. Its eyes are lively and bright, and on its head it is creſted with a brilliant plume of black frizzled feathers, which give it a noble appearance. Theſe birds cannot fly far; and being eaſily tamed, may be reared for domeſtic purpoſes: at Paramaribo they are frequently ſold for more than a guinea a piece. Another bird peculiar to Guiana, called by the French the *agame*, and in Surinam *cani-cani*, I will alſo take this opportunity to deſcribe.—It is, like the former, nearly the ſize of a turkey, but totally different in its formation and plumage; its body, which has no tail, being perfectly the ſhape of an egg: it is alſo black, except on the back, where it is of a grey colour, and on its breaſt, where the feathers are blue and long, hanging down like thoſe of the heron. The eyes are bright, the bill is pointed, and of a blueiſh green, as are alſo its legs. The vulgar name of this bird in this country is the *trumpeter*, on account of the ſound it frequently makes, which bears ſome diſtant reſemblance to that of a trumpet, but whence that ſound proceeds is not in my power to certify: ſome ſuppoſe it is made by the noſe. Of all the feathered creation this bird is the moſt tameable, and the greateſt friend to man, whom it follows, careſſes, and even ſeems to protect with the attachment of a dog. I

have

The Agamy, & Powese or Peacock Pheasant.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

London, Published Dec.

have feen many of them kept on the eftates, where, like the powefa, they are reared for domeftic ufes, and feed among the turkeys and other poultry.

On the 6th I received fix gallons of rum from Paramaribo, four of which I gave as a prefent to Fourgeoud.

About fix in the evening two of our flaves, who had been out to cut manicoles, brought intelligence that a gang of rebels had paffed not above a mile from the camp, headed by a Captain Arico, with whom they had fpoken on the banks of the Cormoetibo Creek, but could not tell which way they fteered their courfe, fo much had they been terrified. On this information we received orders to purfue them by break of day; and the next morning, at five o'clock, all was ready, and we again broke up, leaving a detachment with the ftores, and repaired to the fpot whence the intelligence proceeded. Here we faw a large palm or *mawrifee* tree *, floating in the river, and moored to the oppofite fhore by a nebee, which plainly indicated that Arico, with his men, had croffed the creek, which they do by riding aftride on the floating trunk, the one behind the other, in which manner they are ferried over, (fometimes with women and children) by thofe who are the beft fwimmers.

Notwithftanding this plain evidence, the faith of our colonel, Fourgeoud, now began to waver, and he averred that it was no more than a ftratagem of the rebels, who, he faid, had come from the place to which we fuppofed

* The largeft of all the palm fpecies.

them

CHAP. XI. them gone, and who had only tied the tree acrofs the river to deceive us.

To this opinion neither myfelf nor the other officers could fubfcribe; but no arguments would prevail with him, and we marched directly from them, *viz.* eaft, inftead of croffing and purfuing them weft, as the rangers would certainly have done: thus we kept on till it was near dark, though the bread was forgotten, and the whole day not a drop of water to be obtained, marching through high fandy heaths or favannahs. After inclining a little to the right, we were juft upon the point of making a camp, when a negro called out that we were come to the Wana Creek. This in my ears was a welcome found; and giving him a calebafh, and the beft part of a bottle of my rum, I defired him to run to the creek, and make me fome grog, and this he did; but the poor fellow, never having made grog before, poured in all the fpirits and but very little water, doubtlefs thinking, that the ftronger it was the better; which beverage I fwallowed to the bottom, without taking time to tafte it, and I became inftantly fo much intoxicated that I could hardly keep my feet.

On the 9th we found ourfelves returned to our old camp, from a fruitlefs cruife, when Colonel Fourgeoud fet the captive negro September at liberty, who followed like a fhepherd's dog attending a flock; but our commander in chief was indefatigable, and not only croffed and reconnoitred the weft fide of the creek himfelf, but filling our knapfacks, we

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we the next morning ſet out in the ſame track we had kept the eighth, he ſtill perſiſting that he ſhould overtake the enemy. Having thus marched till towards dark, we altered our courſe, and paſſed the night in an old camp of the rebel negroes, having again paſſed the whole day without water.

The following day we ſtill proceeded, but neither enemies nor water were to be found: the men and officers now began to be extremely faint, and ſome were already carried in their hammocks. It was by this time indeed inſufferably hot, being in the very heart of the dry ſeaſon. In this dilemma we dug a hole ſix feet deep, in the bottom of which a ball cartridge being fired, a little moiſture began to trickle forth, but ſo ſlow and ſo black, that it proved not to be of the leaſt uſe.

We ſtill marched on, and encamped in an old weedy field, where the rebels ſome time before had cultivated plantations. During the night it was truly affecting to hear the poor ſoldiers lament for want of drink, but to no purpoſe; for in ſpite of all this miſery, Fourgeoud ſtill perſiſted in going forward even the third day, building his hopes on meeting with ſome creek or rivulet to alleviate this general diſtreſs. In this he was however miſtaken; for having again, on the 12th, marched over burning ſands till about noon, he dropped down himſelf, amongſt a number of others, a miſerable ſpectacle, for want of means to ſlake their raging and intolerable thirſt. It was happy that in this ſituation we were not at-

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tacked by the negroes, as it muſt have been impoſſible to make any reſiſtance, the ground being ſtrewed with diſtreſſed objects that appeared to be all of them in raging fevers. Deſpair now ſeemed to be impreſſed even upon Fourgeoud's countenance, as he lay proſtrate on the earth, with his lips and tongue parched black; and in this condition, though ſo little deſerving of it, he again attracted my pity.

During all this, ſome of the ſoldiers ſtill devoured ſalt pork, while others crept on all fours and licked the ſcanty drops of dew from the fallen leaves that lay ſcattered on the ground. I now experienced the kindneſs of which a negro is capable when he is well treated by his maſter, being preſented by one attending me with a large calibaſh of as good water as ever I drank in my life; and this he met with, after unſpeakable difficulty, in the leaves of a few wild pine-apple plants, from which it was extracted in the following manner:

The plant is held in one hand, and a ſabre in the other, when at one blow it is ſevered from the root, through the thick under parts of the leaves. It is then held over a cup or calibaſh, and the water flows pure, cool, and to the quantity ſometimes of a quart from each plant. This water has been caught in the time of the rains by the channeled leaves of the plant, and conveyed to their proper reſervoir. Some other negroes found means to relieve themſelves from the *water-withy*, but this was not ſufficient to aſſiſt the dying troops.

The

The *water-withy* is a kind of very thick nebee of the vine ſpecies, which grows only in very ſandy places, this being ſlaſhed with the ſabre in long pieces, and ſuddenly held to the mouth, produces a limpid ſtream, and affords a pleaſing, cool, and healthy beverage, of great ſervice in the parching foreſts of Guiana.

As Providence had graciouſly ſent me this ſupply, I could not for my ſoul reſiſt the impulſe of ſharing my relief with poor Fourgeoud, whoſe age and natural infirmities pleaded greatly in his favour; and who, being now refreſhed, ſaw himſelf at laſt obliged to return, without any further hope of overtaking the enemy. But ſo exhauſted was the party, that many were carried on long poles in their hammocks by the ſlaves.

As his laſt reſource, our commander now detached the Berbicean negro, *Gauſarie*, by himſelf, to try if he could bring him any intelligence while we continued our retreat. As we returned by our former footſteps, and of conſequence approached the pit we had dug yeſterday, I was convinced that by this time it muſt contain clear water. I therefore diſpatched my boy Quaco to the front, to fill one of my gallon bottles before it ſhould be changed to a puddle, and this he did; but being met on his return by Colonel Fourgeoud, he with the butt end of his gun, relentleſsly knocked the bottle to pieces, and doubling his pace, placed two ſentinels at the pit, with orders to preſerve the water all for himſelf and his favourites, But at this moment ſubordination being extinguiſhed,

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the two protectors were forced headlong into the pit, followed by ſeveral others, who all ſought to come at the water, which being now changed to a perfect mire, was good for nothing. Having ſlung our hammocks in an old rebel camp, a dram of *kill-devil* was diſtributed to each without diſtinction; but, as I never uſed this fluid, I offered my ſhare to my faithful negro who had given me the water: this being obſerved by old Fourgeoud, he ordered it to be ſnatched out of the poor man's hand, and returned into the earthen jar; telling me, "I muſt either "drink it myſelf, or have none." I was exceedingly exaſperated at this mark of ingratitude, and finding means to procure that very evening a whole bottle, I gave it to the ſlave.

Near midnight, accidentally good water was diſcovered —Good God! what joyful news!—how ſweet the taſte! ſurpaſſing any wine; and ſuch as I ſhall ever gratefully remember!—Now all drank heartily, and Fourgeoud ordered a warm ſupper to be boiled for himſelf, but not ſo much as a fire to be lighted for any other perſon, forbidding even the cutting of a ſtick; thus were we forced to eat our ſalt beef and pork *raw*. However, having tied my ſmall allowance to a ſtring, I hung it quietly over the ſide of *his* kettle, to have it dreſſed; but his black cook chancing to drop a log of wood upon another in his eagerneſs to aſſiſt me, alarmed the hero, when I was obliged to drop my luncheon into the kettle, and take to my heels.

The old gentleman now inſiſting that ſome perſon had

cut ſticks againſt his orders, I quietly ſtepped up to his hammock in the dark, to undeceive him, and ſoftly aſſured him that the whole camp was faſt aſleep; when he, on pretence of not knowing me, ſuddenly gave a loud roar, and with both his hands caught hold of me by the hair of the head. I eſcaped, and got fairly under cover, while he called, "Fire at him! fire at him!" to the infinite amuſement of the whole camp, who lay in their hammocks convulſed with laughter. Having found out Quaco, I inſtantly ſent him back to bring my luncheon; and ſuch was his diligence, that he actually brought me back a piece of beef at leaſt ten times as large as what I had left, with which I had once more the ſatisfaction to regale the poor ſlaves: and thus ended this horrid day.

The 13th we once more returned to the Wana Creek, fatigued beyond the power of deſcription with theſe fruitleſs ſufferings.

Here the old gentleman regaled his friends with my rum in my preſence, and without offering me a ſingle drop. Here alſo I found a letter from the iſland of Ceylon in the Eaſt Indies, where my friend and relation, Mr. Arnoldus De Ly, being governor of Poind-de-Gale and Maturee, I was invited to come and find my fortune ready made, but which for the preſent my evil ſtars prevented my accepting, as it would have been diſhonourable to leave the ſervice at this juncture.

The

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The following day the negro Gaufarie returned from his expedition, reporting that he had difcovered nothing.

Captain Fredericy, who had marched on the 20th ult. with forty men, white and black, from Jerufalem, not having been heard of fince, it was apprehended he had met with fome dreadful accident, and, in confequence, on the 15th, two captains, two fubalterns, and fifty men, were difpatched to the river Marawina for fome intelligence.

The poft at the Marawina, which is called Vredenburgh, confifts of houfes furrounded with palifades in a kind of fquare, which are all built of the manicole-tree, with which the woods of Guiana fo much abound. On the outer fide are a guard and four fentinels, and the fort itfelf is defended by feveral cannon. It is fituated in an opening, on the banks of the river, where is placed a large flag, and where the garrifon communicates with the French poft on the oppofite fhore, both being fituated at but little diftance from the mouth of the Marawina. To give the beft idea of this fpot, I fhall prefent the reader with a view of it, as alfo of our fituation at the Wana Creek, which, however beautiful on paper, was a dreadful poft to many unfortunate fufferers.

In the annexed Drawing, three camps are diftinctly exhibited; thofe of Colonel Fourgeoud and of the deceafed Major Rughcop, on both fides of the Wana Creek, and that which was lately the rangers, directly oppofite to its mouth.

The

The Military Post Vreedenburgh, at the Marawina.

View of the three Encampments at the Wana Creek.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

The barges, &c. were ordered on the ſame day to bring up proviſions, and take down the ſick; but at this very time the whole camp was attacked by that dreadful diſtemper the bloody flux, which is both infectious and epidemical, and daily carried numbers to their grave. An emetic, or ſome other medicine, adminiſtered at random, were the only relief in our power, as there was not a proper ſurgeon on the ſpot, all of them being engaged at the hoſpitals in Comewina and in Paramaribo.

The poor ſlaves were peculiarly unhappy, who, as I have ſtated, having but half allowance, lived for months on the produce of the cabbage-tree, ſeeds, roots, wild berries, &c. and to this circumſtance may be attributed the firſt introduction of this dangerous diſeaſe into the camp. So ſtarved indeed were theſe wretched negroes, that they tied ropes or nebees about their naked bodies, which is a practice of the Indians when their abdomens are ſhrunk with hunger, as they find by experience, or at leaſt fancy, that the pain occaſioned by want of food is relieved by the compreſſion. I, however, with a few others, eſcaped the infection, but I was laid up with a miſerable bad cold and ſwelled foot; which diſeaſe is called the *conſaca*, and is not unlike our chilblains in Europe, as it occaſions a very great itching, particularly between the toes, whence iſſues a watery fluid.

The negroes are very ſubject to this complaint, which they cure by applying the ſkin of a lemon or lime, made as hot as they can bear it.

I have

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I have frequently had occaſion to mention our proviſions, *viz.* ſalt beef, pork, ruſk, biſcuit, and water, for our allowance, which were dealt out regularly every five or ſix days; the two former having perhaps made the tour of the world, after leaving Ireland, and were even ſo green, ſo ſlimy, ſo ſtinking, and ſometimes ſo full of worms, that at other times they would not have remained upon my ſtomach; but I have not deſcribed our furniture. This, however, will not occupy much time, as it conſiſted only of a ſquare box or cheſt for each officer, to carry his linen, freſh proviſions, and ſpirits, when he had either. Theſe boxes ſerved not only as cupboards, but as chairs and tables in the camp. On a march they were carried on the head of a negro: I muſt obſerve, moreover, that we had no light after ſix o'clock in the evening, that of the moon excepted, when all was ſolemn and melancholy beyond deſcription.

I had not ſo much as a trencher, baſon, ſpoon, or fork: for the firſt and ſecond I made a negro's calibaſh ſerve me; a fork I wanted not, and a ſpoon but ſeldom: inſtead of that article, therefore, I uſed a folded leaf, agreeably to the practice of the ſlaves; and as for a knife, each perſon carried one in his pocket. I at laſt contrived to make a lamp by breaking a bottle; in which having melted ſome pork, it produced a quantity of oil, and a ſlip of my ſhirt ſerved for a wick. Neceſſity is proverbially ingenious, and in ſuch a ſituation every nicety is forgotten. Indeed, could I now have had what formerly

formerly I left upon my plate, I ſhould have ardently thanked God for it. CHAP. XI.

When ſpeaking of ingenuity, I ought not to forget a number of pretty baſkets which were made by the negroes in the camp, and which, they having taught me to conſtruct, I alſo made to amuſe myſelf, and ſent them as preſents to ſeveral friends at Paramaribo. Theſe baſkets were compoſed of a kind of ſtrong ligneous cord that is found in the bark of the cabbage-tree, and, as Dr. Bancroft expreſſes it, conſiſts of a web-like plexus, which is divided croſs-wiſe in long, hard, poliſhed threads, brown and as tough as whalebone. Theſe threads are drawn from it, and the filaments or fibres are made uſe of as withies are uſed in England. For holding fiſh at ombre or quadrille, nothing can be better or more beautiful; but thoſe that are large for holding fruit, vegetables, &c. are quite different, and made of a kind of bulruſh, called *warimbo*, which is firſt ſplit and deprived of its pithy ſubſtance: the thin nebees make alſo no bad baſkets. The negroes here beſides made curious nets, and even hammocks, of the ſilk graſs plant.

This is a ſpecies of wild aloe that grows in the woods: the leaves are indented and prickly, and contain longitudinally very ſtrong and ſmall white fibres, which are bruiſed and beaten to hemp. With this we made ropes ſtronger than any in Europe. Theſe would anſwer perfectly for the rigging of ſhips and other purpoſes, had it not been diſcovered that they are ſooner liable to rot

in the wet. This kind of hemp is fo very much like white filk, that the importation is forbidden in many countries, to prevent impofition by felling it for the fame; and the fraud is more difficult to be detected when it is artfully mixed with filk. By the Indians this plant is called *curetta*, and in Surinam vulgarly Indian foap, as it contains a faponaceous, pulpy fubftance, which anfwers for wafhing as common foap, and is employed for that purpofe by the negroes and many others. Another plant much refembling this, is by the black people termed *baboon knifee*, as it fometimes cuts through the fkin to the very bone, of which I myfelf had fome proofs in this wildernefs, but without any ill confequence.

In the manner I have already related the time was fpent during this period, in which the whole camp was deftitute of ftockings, fhoes, hats, &c. Colonel Fourgeoud walked a whole day barefooted himfelf to furnifh an example of patience and perfeverance, and to keep the few remaining troops from murmuring. In this refpect I had fairly the advantage of all the company, my fkin being (the fwelled foot or confaca, and a few fcratches excepted) perfectly whole from my habit of walking thus, while not a found limb was to be found among the reft, whofe legs in general were broken out in dreadful ulcers, with a difcharge of pus. I have already in part accounted for this inconvenience, and fhall ftill farther account for it, by obferving, that while the ftockings and fhoes of thefe unhappy people remained, they were ne-

ver

ver off the feet of many wearers, who, after marching through water, mud, and mire, in this filthy condition, rested during the night in their hammocks, where, in fair weather, before morning this filth was dried upon their limbs, and in consequence caused an itching and redness on the skin, which by scratching broke out in many places; these wounds soon became scrophulous, and ended in open sores and ulcers, which, from the want of care and proper application, often changed to mortification and intolerable swellings, by which some lost their limbs, and others even their lives when they were not saved by amputation. Such were the causes, and such the effects of the evils we had to struggle with; but they were far from the whole of our wretchedness, and might be called only the precursors of what we had still to undergo.

At this time a compliment of a fine *ham* and a dozen of port-wine being sent me by Captain *Van Coeverden*, I gave all in a present to poor Fourgeoud, who was emaciated with fatigue, except four bottles which I drank with the other officers; and next day, the 29th, I had the honour to be ordered on a patrol with Colonel *des Borgnes* and forty privates *once more*, to try if we could not take the negroes who had crossed the creek *three weeks* before.

Having dropped down the river with a barge, in which we lay all night, we landed the following morning, and marched N. E.; after which, being without a compass, we soon lost our way, and having crossed a large sand-

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ſavanna, flung our hammocks in the ſkirts of a thick and obſcure wood. On the 31ſt we again ſet out the ſame courſe, in hopes of meeting with the marks of ſome former path cut upon the trees by ſome of our troops; but were miſtaken, for having got into a marſh, where we waded till noon up to our chins, at the hazard of being drowned, we ſaw ourſelves under the neceſſity of returning the ſame way we came, perfectly ſoaked and in rags; and after a forced march encamped once more on the banks of Cormoetibo Creek, in ſuch a heavy ſhower of rain during the whole night as I did ſeldom remember, which cauſed ſo much confuſion and hurry, each ſtriving to build his ſhed, and get under cover firſt, that I got a broken head, but perſevering was one of the firſt in flinging my hammock; above which ſpreading green boughs, and under which having lighted a comfortable fire, I fell moſt profoundly aſleep in the middle of the ſmoke, which ſaved me from the ſtings of the muſquitoes.

While ſpeaking of inſects, I ought not to forget that this evening one of the negro ſlaves who had been looking for dry wood, preſented me, to my great ſurprize, with a beetle no leſs than three or four inches in length, and above two in breadth, called in Surinam the *rhinoceros*, on account of its proboſcis or horn, which is hooked, forked, and thick as a gooſe-quill; on the head it has many hard poliſhed knobs; the limbs are ſix; the wings are large, and the whole animal is perfectly black, being the largeſt of all the beetle kind in America.

In

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In Guiana is alſo another ſpecies of theſe inſects, called the *cerf-volant*, or flying hart, from its extuberances reſembling the horns of a ſtag: both theſe beetles fly with an uncommon buzzing noiſe, and are ſo ſtrong, that but very few birds dare to attack them. One of the greateſt plagues however we met with in the foreſt, was a fly as large as a common bee the ſtings of which were almoſt equally powerful; the negroes call it the *cow-fly*; this I can beſt I think compare to what is called the *hippoboſcus* or *bore-fly* in Great Britain.

Having ſlept moſt ſoundly for ſix or ſeven hours, in ſpite of the rains, the ſmoke, the muſquitoes, and my broken head, I turned out perfectly refreſhed at five, and at ſix we commenced the year 1774, by marching up along the banks of the Cormoetibo till mid-day, when we arrived once more at the *grand* encampment at the mouth of the Wana Creek, from, as uſual, a fruitleſs cruize.

On the 3d, to our joy returned alſo Captain Fredericy, with his party, bringing in a captive negro in chains, called *Cupido*; and relating that a poor ſoldier of the Society troops, on receiving his pardon, when on his knees to be ſhot, was gone out of his ſenſes.

Colonel Fourgeoud being finally determined to break up this campaign, ſent out a party of ſixty men to cruize on the way to Patamaca before him.

I now waſhed my ſhirt, the laſt I had, in the Wana Creek (but was obliged to keep ſwimming till it was dried by the ſun) my letter, ſent for linen, having never reach-

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ed Paramaribo, and what I had brought with me being torn to rags.

On the 4th of January, at ſix o'clock in the morning, all were ready to decamp. Thus having ſent down the barges with the ſick to Devil's Harwar, we at laſt croſſed Cormoetibo Creek, and marched firſt directly ſouth for Patamaca, over ſteep mountains covered with ſtones and impregnated with minerals. This again contradicts Dr. Bancroft's obſervations, theſe mountains not being above twenty miles from the ocean, though he aſſerts that no hill is to be found at near fifty miles from the ſea. In the evening we encamped at the foot of a high hill, where we found a ſmall rivulet of good water, and a number of manicole-trees, the two chief requiſites. It is curious, and indeed beautiful, to behold, in the ſpace of an hour, a green town ſpring up as it were from nothing, and a little after all the fires lighted, on which the men are boiling their hard fare, while others are employed in drying their cloaths; though, as I have ſtated, this laſt was by no means a general rule, the greater number preferring to let them rot on their bodies.

This night, however, the whole camp was diſturbed by a diuretic complaint, occaſioned by drinking the water we found here, which indeed was very pure, but was ſo impregnated with minerals, that it taſted almoſt like that of Bath or the German Spa. This is a circumſtance which I think indicates that theſe mountains contain metals;

metals, if the Dutch would go to the expence of ſearching in their bowels. CHAP. XI.

On the 5th we marched the ſame courſe again over mountains and dales, ſome of which were ſo exceſſively ſteep that one or two of the ſlaves, not being able to aſcend them loaded, threw down their burdens, and deſerted, not to the enemy, but found their way to their maſters eſtates, where they were pardoned; while others tumbled down, burthen and all, from top to bottom.

This evening we found our quarters ready-made, and lodged in the *wigwams* or huts that were left ſtanding when the rice country was deſtroyed, and Bonny with his men put to flight; in that where I lay I found a very curious piece of candle, which the rebels had left behind, compoſed of bees-wax and the heart of a bulruſh.

Bonny's own houſe, where Fourgeoud lodged, was a perfect curioſity, having four pretty little rooms, and a ſhed or piazza incloſed with neat manicole paliſades.

The whole corps appearing on the 6th exceſſively fatigued, Fourgeoud ordered a general day of reſt, only detaching Captain Fredericy with ſix men, as he knew the country beſt, to reconnoitre the banks of the *Claas Creek*, a water that iſſued from near this place in the upper parts of Rio Cottica. They were hardly marched when the eye of our chief by chance falling on me, he ordered me inſtantly to follow *alone*, and return with a report of what I could diſcover on the *other* ſide the creek. I overtook the party ſoon, when after a ſhort march we

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were in water up to our very arm-pits; Fredericy now ordered a retreat, but desiring him to wait for me, I took off all my cloaths, and with only my sabre in my teeth, swam by myself across the Creek, where having ranged the opposite shore, and finding nothing, I again swam back, after which we all returned to the camp.

At noon, making my report to Colonel Fourgeoud, he was astonished indeed at this desperate action, which in fact he had not expected; but I was not less amazed when he took me by the hand, entertaining me with a bottle of wine, and ordering Monsieur Laurant to set some bacon-ham before me, to find, however incredible it may appear, that the one was actually sour, and the other creeping with live worms; while my own provisions, *now his*, which were fresh, were withheld me. This meanness so much exasperated me, that, starting up, I left Fourgeoud, his valet, his wine, and his reptiles, with that contempt which they deserved, alleviating my hunger with a piece of dry rusk biscuit and a barbacued fish, called *warappa*, which I got from a negro.

On the 7th of January we marched again; and this day having caught one of those beautiful large *butterflies* of which I made mention during my cruize in the river Cottica, I will here attempt to give a more particular description of it, though I know nothing about their names. This fly measured, in the extension of the wings from tip to tip, about seven inches; the colour of both the superior and inferior wings is of such a vivid and splendid

blue,

Azure blue Butterfly of South America.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1798, by J. Johnson, S.t Pauls Church Yard

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blue, as can only be compared to the azure ſky in a bright day, to which not the pureſt ultramarine coloured ſattin can approach: the under ſide is of a lovely brown variegated with ſpots. I cannot help repeating, that its ſkimming and hovering with ſuch a magnitude, and ſuch a hue, among the different ſhades of green, had the moſt enchanting effect. Of the antennæ, head, thorax, and abdomen, I ſhall only ſay that they were dark coloured. This fly, if I miſtake not, is, according to the diviſion of Linnæus, of the Danai ſpecies. I never ſaw the chryſalite or aurelia; but the caterpillar, which is of a yellowiſh grey colour, is as thick as a large man's finger, and about four inches long. The annexed drawing I have improved from one of Miſs Merian. Various and innumerable indeed are the butterflies with which the foreſts of Guiana abound; ſome people, in fact, who make fly-catching their buſineſs, get much money by it; and having arranged them in paper-boxes, with pins ſtuck through them, ſend them off to the different cabinets of Europe. Doctor Bancroft mentions, touching them with ſpirits of turpentine as neceſſary to preſerve them, but fixing a piece of camphor in the box with the flies is quite ſufficient.

This evening we encamped near the Patamaca Creek, where the poor negro woman cried bitterly, and ſcattered ſome victuals and water at the root of a tree by way of libation, as being the ſpot where her huſband was

interred,

CHAP. XI. interred, who had been ſhot in ſome former ſkirmiſh by the Europeans.

Here Captain Fredericy and myſelf, walking without the ſkirts of the camp in a ſandy ſavannah, diſcovered the freſh footſteps of a large tiger with her young, at which time they are extremely ferocious: we thought it prudent therefore to make a ſudden retreat. I meaſured the diameter of the dam's claws printed in the ſand, which were nearly of the dimenſions of an ordinary pewter-plate.

Having marched a few hours longer the ſucceeding morning, we at laſt arrived at the Society poſt La Rochelle in Patamaca; ſuch a diſplay of meagre, ſtarved, black, burnt, and ragged tatterdemallions, and moſtly without ſhoes or hats, as I think were never before beheld in any country. They could be compared to nothing but a gang of gypſies, while their leader was not unlike Bampfield Moore Carew, and myſelf at beſt like the forlorn Cruſoe in his worſt condition, with my only check ſhirt and the one-half of my trowſers, the reſt being torn away. Here we found a ſet of poor wretches ready to enter the woods which we had juſt left, and deſtined to undergo in the ſame manner the ſevereſt miſery that ever was inflicted on ſublunary beings. I have already mentioned the prickly heat, ring-worm, dry gripes, putrid fevers, biles, conſaca, and bloody flux, to which human nature is expoſed in this climate; alſo the muſquitoes, Patat and Scrapat lice, chigoes, cock-roaches, ants,

ants, horſe-flies, wild-bees, and bats, beſides the thorns, briers, the alligators, and peree in the rivers; to which if we add the howling of the tigers, the hiſſing of ſerpents, and the growling of Fourgeoud, the dry ſandy ſavannas, unfordable marſhes, burning hot days, cold and damp nights, heavy rains, and ſhort allowance, the reader may be aſtoniſhed how any perſon was able to ſurvive the trial. Notwithſtanding this black catalogue, I ſolemnly declare I have omitted many other calamities that we ſuffered, as I wiſh to avoid prolixity, though perhaps I have been already too often guilty of it. I might have mentioned indeed lethargies, dropſies, &c. &c. beſides the many ſmall ſnakes, lizards, ſcorpions, locuſts, buſh-ſpiders, buſh-worms, and centipedes, nay, even flying lice, with which the traveller is perpetually tormented, and by which he is conſtantly in danger of being ſtung; but the deſcription of which curſed company I muſt defer to another opportunity.

The reader may form ſome conception of the famiſhed ſtate in which we came hither, when I inform him, that the moment of our arrival, obſerving a negro woman ſupping on plantain broth from a callibaſh, I gave her half-a-crown, and ſnatching the baſon from her hands, I devoured the contents with a greater reliſh than I have ever taſted any delicacy before or ſince during my whole exiſtence. I now obſerved to Colonel Fourgeoud, how pitiable it was, not to regale his remaining ſoldiers with vegetables and freſh beef or mutton, beſides providing

CHAP. XI. them with hats, ſtockings, ſhoes, &c.; but he replied, that Hannibal had loſt his army at Capua by too much indulgence. In ſhort, he quoted not only Hannibal but Horace for his example, according to the advice given in a certain pamphlet,

Ibit eo quo vis qui Zonam perdidit;

and appeared fully convinced, that no perſons will behave ſo deſperately in action as thoſe who are tired of their lives.

On the 11th, the other party which had left Wana the day before ourſelves, arrived, having, according to cuſtom, neither taken nor ſeen any thing.

On the 12th, one of the rebels with his wife came to La Rochelle, and ſurrendered themſelves voluntarily to the commander in chief. This day Fourgeoud acquainted me now himſelf, that I was at liberty to go and refit at Paramaribo when I thought proper. This propoſal I gladly accepted, and that moment prepared for my departure, with ſome other officers, leaving behind us himſelf and a band of ſuch ſcare-crows as would have diſgraced the garden or field of any farmer in England. Among theſe was a Society captain, named Larcher, who declared to me he never combed, waſhed, ſhaved, or ſhifted, or even put off his boots, till all was rotted from his body. At laſt arrived the happy hour, when, taking leave of my tattered companions, I and five more, with a

tent-

ent-boat and ſix oars, rowed ſtrait down for Paramaribo, till in good health and in a flow of ſpirits, and at the very ſummit of contentment.

At Devil's Harwar I met a cargo of tea, coffee, biſcuit, butter, ſugar, lemons, rum, and twenty bottles of claret, ſent me by my friends, directed to La Rochelle, which I again, notwithſtanding the barbarous uſage that I had ſo lately met with, gave all in a preſent to poor Fourgeoud, twelve bottles of wine excepted, which we drank in the barge to the healths of our wives and miſtreſſes; nor could I help pitying Colonel Fourgeoud, whoſe age (he being about ſixty) and indefatigable exertions claimed the attention of the moſt indifferent: for during this trip, though but few rebels were taken, he had certainly ſcoured the foreſt from the river Comewina to the mouth of the Wana Creek, diſperſed the enemy, and demoliſhed their habitations, fields, and gardens, and thus cut them off from all proſpect of ſupport.

On the evening of the 13th, we ſupped at the eſtate Mondeſire, and thence kept rowing down all night and day, ſhouting and ſinging till the 15th at noon, when, the tide ſerving, we went on ſhore at the fortreſs Amſterdam; whence croſſing the river, we arrived before Mr. De Lamar's door at Paramaribo. I ſtept aſhore among a croud of friends, who all flocked round to ſee and to welcome me to town.

I next ſent for my ineſtimable Joanna, who burſt

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into tears the moment ſhe beheld me, not only for joy at my ſtill exiſting (for it had been reported that I was no more) but alſo from ſeeing my very diſtreſſed ſituation.—Thus ended my ſecond campaign, and with this I put an end to the chapter.

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[De]scription of the town of Paramaribo and Fort Zelandia—Colonel Fourgeoud's march to the river Marawina—A Captain wounded—Some Privates shot—Strange Execution in the Capital—Account of Fort Somelsdyk—Of the Hope in Rio Comewina.

BEING once more arrived at Paramaribo, it will not be improper to introduce in this place some account of that beautiful town. Before I commence the description however, I must observe, that being long accustomed to walk bare-footed, I could not bear the confinement of shoes and stockings for some time, they heated and even swelled my feet so much, that, dining on the 16th of January with my friend Kennedy, I was actually obliged to throw them off at his house, whence he was so kind as to send me home in his whisky. I have already mentioned that Paramaribo is situated on the right side of the beautiful river Surinam, at about sixteen or eighteen miles distance from its mouth. It is built upon a kind of gravelly rock, which is level with the rest of the country, in the form of an oblong square, its length is about a mile and a half, and its breadth about half as much. All the streets, which are perfectly straight, are lined with orange, shaddock, tamarind, and lemon-trees, which appear in everlasting bloom; while at the same time their branches CHAP. XII.

are weighed down with the richeſt cluſters of odoriferous fruit. Neither ſtone nor brick is made uſe of here for pavement, the whole being one continued gravel, not inferior to the fineſt garden walks in England, and ſtrewed on the ſurface with ſea-ſhells. The houſes, which are moſtly of two, and ſome of three ſtories high, are all built of fine timber, a very few excepted; moſt of the foundations are of brick, and they are roofed with thin ſplit boards, called ſhingles, inſtead of ſlates or tiles. Windows are very ſeldom ſeen in this country, glaſs being inconvenient on account of the heat, inſtead of which they uſe gauze frames; ſome have only the ſhutters, which are kept open from ſix o'clock in the morning until ſix at night. As for chimnies I never ſaw one in the colony, no fires being lighted except in the kitchens, which are always built at ſome diſtance from the dwelling-houſe, where the victuals are dreſſed upon the floor, and the ſmoke let out by a hole made in the roof: theſe timber houſes are however very dear in Surinam, as may be evinced by that lately built by Governor Nepven, which he declared had coſt him above £.15,000 ſterling. There is no ſpring water to be met with in Paramaribo, moſt houſes have wells dug in the rock, which afford but a brackiſh kind of beverage, only uſed for the negroes, cattle, &c. and the Europeans have reſervoirs or ciſterns, in which they preſerve rain-water for their own conſumption; thoſe of nicer taſte let it firſt drop through a filtering-ſtone into large jars or earthen pots,

View of the Town of PARAMARIBO, *with the Road & Shipping, from the opposite Shore.*

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1794 by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

pots, made by the native Indians on purpofe, which they barter at Paramaribo for other commodities. The inhabitants of this country, of every denomination, fleep in hammocks, the negro flaves excepted, who moftly lie on the ground; the hammocks ufed by thofe in fuperior ftations are made of cotton, ornamented with rich fringe; thefe are alfo made by the Indians, and fometimes worth above twenty guineas; neither bedding nor covering is neceffary, except an awning to keep off the mufquitoes. Some people indeed lie on bedfteads; in that cafe they are furrounded, inftead of curtains, with gauze pavilions, which admit the air freely, and at the fame time keep off the fmalleft infect. The houfes in general at Paramaribo are elegantly furnifhed with paintings, gilding, cryftal chandeliers, china jars, &c.; the rooms are never papered or plaiftered, but beautifully wainfcoted with cedar, Brazil, and mahogany wood.

The number of buildings in Paramaribo is computed at about one thoufand four hundred, of which the principal is the governor's palace, whence there is a private paffage through the garden which communicates with Fort Zelandia.—This houfe, and that of the commandant, which has lately been burnt, were the only brick buildings in the colony. The town-hall is an elegant new building, and covered with tiles; here the different courts are held, and underneath are the prifons for European delinquents, the military excepted, who are confined in the citadel of Fort Zelandia. The Proteftant church,

where

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where divine worſhip is performed both in French and Low Dutch, has a ſmall ſpire with a clock; beſides which there is a Lutheran chapel, and two elegant Jewiſh ſynagogues, one German, the other Portugueſe. Here is alſo a large hoſpital for the garriſon, and this manſion is never empty. The military ſtores are kept in the fortreſs, where the Society ſoldiers are alſo lodged in barracks, with proper apartments for ſome officers. The town of Paramaribo has a noble road for ſhipping, the river before the town being above a mile in breadth, and containing ſometimes above one hundred veſſels of burthen, moored within a piſtol ſhot of the ſhore; there are indeed ſeldom fewer there than fourſcore ſhips loading coffee, ſugar, cacao, cotton, and indigo, for Holland, including alſo the Guinea-men that bring ſlaves from Africa, and the North American and Leeward Iſland veſſels, which bring flour, beef, pork, ſpirits, herrings, and mackarel ſalted, ſpermaceti-candles, horſes, and lumber, for which they receive chiefly melaſſes to be diſtilled into rum. This town is not fortified, but is bounded by the river on the S. E.; by a large ſavannah on the W.; by an impenetrable wood on the N. E.; and is protected by Fort Zelandia on the eaſt. This citadel is only ſeparated from the town by a large eſplanade, where the troops parade occaſionally. The fort is a regular pentagon, with one gate fronting Paramaribo, and two baſtions which command the river; it is very ſmall but ſtrong, being made of rock or hewn ſtone, ſurrounded

by

Plan of the Town of Paramaribo.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Paul's Church Yard. T. Conder Sculpsit

by a broad foſſe well ſupplied with water, beſides ſome out-works. On the Eaſt ſide, fronting the river, is a battery of twenty-one pieces of cannon. On one of the baſtions is a clock, which is ſtruck with a hammer by the ſentinel, who is directed by an hour-glaſs. On the other is planted a large enſign-ſtaff, upon which a flag is hoiſted upon the approach of ſhips of war, or on public rejoicing days. The walls are ſix feet thick, with embraſures but no parapet. I have already ſpoken of its antiquity.

Paramaribo is a very lively place, the ſtreets being generally crouded with planters, ſailors, ſoldiers, Jews, Indians, and Negroes, while the river is covered with canoes, barges, &c. conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing, like the wherries on the Thames, often accompanied with bands of muſic; the ſhipping alſo in the road adorned with their different flags, guns firing, &c.; not to mention the many groupes of boys and girls playing in the water, altogether form a pleaſing appearance; and ſuch gaiety and variety of objects ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to compenſate for the many inconveniencies of the climate. Their carriages and dreſs are truly magnificent; ſilk embroidery, Genoa velvets, diamonds, gold and ſilver lace, being daily worn, and even the maſters of trading ſhips appear with buttons and buckles of ſolid gold. They are equally expenſive at their tables, where every thing that can be called delicate is produced at any price, and ſerved up in plate and china of the neweſt faſhion, and

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most exquisite workmanship. But nothing displays the luxury of the inhabitants of Surinam, more than the number of slaves by whom they are attended, often twenty or thirty in one family. White servants are seldom to be met with in this colony.

The current money, as I have already stated, are stamped cards of different value, from five shillings to fifty pounds: gold and silver is so scarce, that the exchange premium for specie is often above ten *per cent*. A base Dantzic coin called a *bit*, value something less than sixpence, is also current in Surinam. English and Portuguese coin are sometimes met with, but mostly used as ornaments by the Mulatto, Samboe, Quaderoon, and Negro girls. The Negro slaves never receive any paper money, for as they cannot read they do not understand its value; besides in their hands it would be liable to many accidents, from fire or children, and particularly from the rats, when it becomes a little greasy.

This town is well supplied with provisions, *viz.* butcher's meat, fowls, fish and venison. Vegetables in particular the country abounds with; besides the luxuries peculiar to this climate, they import whatever Europe, Africa, and Asia can afford. Provisions, however, are excessively dear in general, especially those imported, which are mostly sold by the Jews and masters of ships. The first enjoy extraordinary privileges in this colony; the latter erect temporary warehouses for the purpose of trade, during the time their ships are loading with the

 productions

productions of the climate. Wheat flour is fold from four pence to one fhilling *per* pound; butter two fhillings; butcher's meat never under one fhilling, and often at one fhilling and fix pence; ducks and fowls from three to four fhillings a couple. A fingle turkey has coft me one guinea and a half; eggs are fold at the rate of five, and European potatoes twelve for fix pence. Wine three fhillings a bottle. Jamaica rum a crown a gallon. Fifh and vegetables are cheap, and fruit almoft for nothing. My black boy, Quaco, has often brought me forty oranges for fix pence, and half a dozen pine-apples for the fame price; while limes and tamarinds may be had for gathering. Houfe-rent is exceffively high. A fmall room unfurnifhed cofts three or four guineas a month; and a houfe with two apartments on a floor, lets for one hundred guineas yearly. Shoes fell for half-a-guinea a pair; and a fuit of cloaths, with filver binding, has coft me twenty guineas.

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The wood with which the houfes are generally built deferves alfo to be noticed, *viz.* the *Wana*, and the *Cuppy*. The Wana is a light durable timber of a coarfe grain, and does not take the beft polifh; it is of a very pale red, approaching mahogany, and moftly ufed for doors and cupboards, alfo for boats and barges. This tree grows to a confiderable height*.

* This Dr. Bancroft, I think, calls the *Tetermer*.

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The Cuppy-tree refembles the wild chefnut, is hard, knotty, and durable; it is fawed into boards, and ufed to enclofe the houfes for fences, inftead of brick and ftone walls; the timber is of a brown colour, and takes a good polifh.

For a better idea of this town, I fhall refer the reader to the annexed plan; and proceed to give fome further account of its inhabitants.

The whites or Europeans in this colony, and who refide principally in town, are computed at five thoufand, including the garrifon. The negro flaves at about feventy-five thoufand. The military mount guard every morning at eight o'clock, in the fortrefs; but the fafety of the town is entrufted to the burghers or militia, who keep watch during the night. At fix o'clock in the morning, and the fame hour in the evening, the morning and evening guns are fired by the commanding fhip in the harbour; at the evening fignal, all the flags are inftantly lowered on board the different veffels; their bells are fet a ringing, whilft the drums and fifes beat the *tattoo* through the town. The watch is then fet, and no negro of either fex is allowed to appear in the ftreets or on the river, without a proper pafs figned by his owner; without this he is taken up, and infallibly flogged the next morning. At ten at night, a band of black drums beat the burgher, or militia retreat, through the ftreets of Paramaribo.

At-

At this time the ladies begin to make their appearance, who are particularly fond of a *tête-à-tête* by moon-light, when they entertain with *Sherbet*, *Sangaree* *, and wine and water; besides the most unreserved and unequivocal conversation concerning themselves, as well as the peculiar qualifications of their husbands, and the situation of their female slaves, whom they propose the acceptance of to the gentlemen they converse with at so much *per* week, according to their own estimation. Sometimes placing half a dozen of them in a row, the lady says, "Sir, this is a *callebasee*, that is a maid, and this is not"—thus are they not only unreserved in their conversation, but also profuse in their encomiums upon such gentlemen as have the honour of their instructive company, and whose person or figure meets with their approbation.

They are also rigid disciplinarians, as the backs of their poor slaves, male and female, sufficiently testify. Thus every country has its customs, and from these customs exceptions are to be made; for I have known ladies in Surinam, whose delicacy and polite conversation would have graced the first circles in Europe. Besides the amusements of feasting, dancing, riding, and cards, they have a small theatre, where the inhabitants of fashion act plays for their own amusement, and that of their friends. As they are elegant in their dress, so they

* Water, Madeira wine, nutmeg and sugar.

keep

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keep their houfes extremely clean. They ufe the fineft linen, exquifitely well wafhed with Caftile foap; its whitenefs can only be compared to mountain fnow, and would make the beft bleached linen in Europe appear like canvafs. Their parlour floors are always fcoured with four oranges cut through the middle, which gives the houfe an agreeable fragrance: the Negro girls taking one half in each hand, keep finging aloud while they rub the boards. Such is the town, and fuch are the inhabitants of Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam; and the character will apply to the natives of all the Dutch fettlements in the Weft Indies. But to return to my narrative. Being once more reconciled to fhoes, I vifited Colonel Wefterloo on board a Weft-India fhip, bound for Holland. This gentleman, who had relieved me at Devil's Harwar when I was ill, was now himfelf in a moft miferable condition, having loft the ufe of his limbs. In this debilitated ftate, it was doubtful whether any thing but the air of his native country would recover him. Several officers were now under the neceffity of felling their effects to procure a fubfiftence, not being able either to procure their pay or allowance from Fourgeoud. I felt this hard ufage the lefs, from the kindnefs I experienced from my numerous friends.

On the 28th of January, as I was walking in the morning by the river fide, I faw a fifh brought afhore, that deferves to be mentioned for its fize and goodnefs, being

fometimes

sometimes near two hundred pounds weight *. It is here called *grow-muneck*, or grey friar, and is said to be of the cod genus, to which it bears some resemblance in shape and colour, the back being a dark olive brown, and the belly white; it was soon cut up into large slices, several of which I purchased, and sent as presents to my friends; as it was, in my opinion, even superior to turbot. It is an inhabitant of the sea, but is sometimes to be met with in the rivers. The negroes here are the only fishermen, and are regularly trained up to this profession by their masters, who make them pay a certain sum weekly. If they are expert and industrious, they soon acquire money for themselves, and some even become *rich*; but, on the contrary, if they are indolent, and do not fulfil their weekly engagements, they are certain to be punished very severely.

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This custom is also common to many other trades, and by perseverance and sobriety they are actually enabled to live happily. Thus I have known slaves in Surinam, who have bought slaves for their own use. Some purchase their freedom from their masters, whilst others keep their money, preferring to be the slave of an indulgent master; being, so long as they continue slaves, free from all duties and taxes, which, in case of manumission, they become liable to. A particular instance of this kind was a negro blacksmith, named *Joseph*, who being offered his

* Dr. Fermyn is mistaken, when he says this fish weighs but forty pounds.

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liberty upon account of his long and faithful ſervices, poſitively refuſed it, chuſing rather to be the ſlave of a worthy maſter. This man had ſeveral ſlaves of his own, kept a decent houſe, with handſome furniture, and ſome plate; and when viſited by his humane maſter or miſtreſs, entertained them with Sangaree, port or claret. I muſt, however, acknowledge this to be a very ſingular inſtance; and obſerve, that although a few live comfortably at Paramaribo, the greateſt number are wretched, particularly thoſe governed by a *lady*, who have many weals to ſhow, but not the ſmalleſt indulgence to boaſt of.

Among the ſlaves, thoſe of the claſs called *Quaderoons* are in general much reſpected for their affinity to Europeans; a Quaderoon being the offspring of a white and a mulatto, and they are very numerous in this colony.

Here one not only meets with the white, the black, and olive, but with

> " The Samboe dark, and the Mulatto brown,
> " The Mæſti fair *, the well-limb'd Quaderoon."

Theſe boys are generally placed out to ſome good trade, ſuch as cabinet-makers, ſilverſmiths, or jewellers; whilſt the girls are employed as waiting-women, and taught the arts of ſewing, knitting, and embroidery, to perfection: they are generally handſome, and take much pride in the neatneſs and elegance of their dreſs.

* The offspring of an *European* and of a *Quaderoon.*

To

Female Quadroon Slave of Surinam.

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To give the reader a more lively idea of these people, I shall describe the figure and drefs of a Quaderoon girl, as they ufually appear in this colony. They are moftly tall, ftraight, and gracefully formed; rather more flender than the Mulattoes, and never go naked above the waift, like the former. Their drefs commonly confifts of a fattin petticoat, covered with flowered gauze; a clofe fhort jacket, made of beft India chintz or filk, laced before, and fhewing about an hand-breadth of a fine muflin fhift between the jacket and the petticoat. As for ftockings and fhoes, the flaves in this country never wear them. Their heads are adorned with a fine bunch of black hair in fhort natural ringlets; they wear a black or white beaver hat, with a feather, or a gold loop and button: their neck, arms, and ancles are ornamented with chains, bracelets, gold medals, and beads. All thefe fine women have European hufbands, to the no fmall mortification of the fair Creolians; yet fhould it be known that an European female had an intercourfe with a flave of any denomination, fhe is for ever detefted, and the flave lofes his life without mercy.—Such are the defpotic laws of men in Dutch Guiana over the weaker fex.

But to change the fubject.—The tyranny of our commander, Colonel Fourgeoud, feemed daily to increafe. Lieutenant Count Runtwick, who was to proceed for Holland with Colonel Wefterloo, being fick, was ordered to remain in Surinam, for having only faid that he had

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been ill treated by him. As a ſpecimen of his juſtice, I will only obſerve, that all the officers had now ſubſiſted a whole year upon a private ſoldier's allowance of ſalt proviſions, a few weeks at Paramaribo only excepted. This accommodation coſt me thirty pounds; but I have already mentioned he kept back our money, and why ſhould he not our allowance alſo, it not being the part of a good ſoldier to inquire after trifles?

On the 1ſt of February we, however, received notice that henceforth we ſhould pay nothing, provided we could *faſt*; but that if we could not, ten pounds yearly was to be the *ne plus ultra* of the expences for our ſalt beef and pork.

On the 2d I received intelligence that Lieutenant Colonel Becquer, ſcorning any longer to partake of Fourgeoud's bounty, had ſuddenly given up the ghoſt, by which in rotation I became poſſeſſed of his vacant company. This was ſome compenſation for ſo much trouble and fatigue. But to counterbalance this good fortune, a certain lady, whoſe huſband had ſhewn me extraordinary civilities, now made me an offer, which I could not with honour accept; beſides, I had been ſworn at Highgate. But perſiſting in my refuſal of her favours and golden preſents, I at laſt felt the effects of a woman's hatred and revenge. Her huſband, who had lately been ſo much my friend, and whoſe honour I, in this inſtance, ſo much reſpected, was ſuddenly perverted into a bitter enemy. I bore their frowns with reſignation, conſcious of my own rectitude,

tude, in not committing a trefpafs of which too many others would have made a boaft. Shortly after, however, this gentleman again became my friend, even more than before this affair happened, having been perfectly undeceived.

On the 6th, a poor drummer of the Society brought me a prefent of fome *alligato*, or more properly *avogato* pears and oranges, for having fupported him, he faid, in Holland againft my fervant, who had knocked him down. This trait of gratitude afforded me more pleafure than the coolnefs of my late friend had given me pain.—The avogato pear grows on a tree above forty feet high, and not unlike a walnut-tree: the fruit, which is about the fize and colour of a large pear, *viz.* a pale green, is the moft exquifite, in my opinion, of any in the colony, or even in the world; the infide is yellow, and the kernel is inclofed in a foft rind like a chefnut. The pulp is fo falubrious and nutritious, that it is often called the vegetable marrow, and is frequently eaten with pepper and falt: nor can I compare it to any thing fo well as a peach, melting in the mouth in the fame manner, not fo fweet indeed, but incomparably more delicious.

The oranges in Surinam are of three different fpecies; the four, the bitter, and the fweet, all being originally imported from Spain or Portugal. The four oranges are an excellent cure for fores and running ulcers, fo common in this climate, but painful in the operation; for which reafon they are only ufed for the negroes, who it

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is ſuppoſed may bear any thing. The bitter are only uſed for preſerving: the ſweet, which have a luſcious taſte and exquiſite flavour, may be eaten freely, without any pernicious effects, which is not the caſe with that kind called the China apples, which I ſhall afterwards deſcribe. The trees that bear all theſe ſpecies are truly beautiful, and never without fragrant bloſſoms or fruit throughout the year.

On the 16th, the news arrived that Colonel Fourgeoud, with the remaining troops, having marched from La Rochelle, had been attacked by the rebels; and amongſt others Captain Fredericy, marching in the front, had been ſhot through both thighs. This brave officer, clapping both his hands on the wounds, and ſitting in water up to his breaſt to conceal the bleeding, and prevent his misfortune from diſcouraging the troops, remained in this ſituation until the ſurgeon had dreſſed them, when he was carried in his hammock by two negroes.

Nothing, indeed, could exceed the zeal which both this officer, and Fourgeoud's adjutant, Captain Vangewrike, ſhewed during the whole expedition; continually upon ſervice, whether their conſtitutions could bear it or not. But honour was the only advantage they derived from a five years aſſiduous and extraordinary attendance. In my opinion, Colonel Fourgeoud never recompenſed them according to their merit; while he treated the ſubalterns, and even ſome field officers, worſe than ever I did my corporals.

I now

I now made another offer to join him in the woods; but instead of permiſſion, he ſent me orders to haſten to L'Eſperance, in Engliſh the *Hope* eſtate, as I ſhall henceforth call it, ſituated in the upper part of Rio Comewina, there to take the command of the whole river during his abſence; which being new to me, I repaired to this poſt with the greater ſatisfaction. CHAP. XII.

Having provided myſelf with a compleat camp-equipage, and purchaſed proviſions, I was ſoon ready to depart for my new ſtation. But before I leave Paramaribo, I muſt remark, that during my ſtay there no leſs than nine negroes had each a leg cut off, for running away from their maſters. This puniſhment is a part of the Surinam adminiſtration of juſtice, and is performed at the deſire of the proprietor, and was executed by a Mr. Greuber, the ſurgeon of the hoſpital. During this inhuman operation, the poor ſufferers very deliberately ſmoaked their pipe of tobacco. For this ſervice the ſurgeon received about ſix pounds a limb: but, notwithſtanding his great abilities, four of them died immediately after the operation. A fifth deſtroyed himſelf, by plucking away the bandages and bleeding to death during the night. Theſe amputated negroes are common in this colony, and are employed in rowing the boats and barges of their maſters. Others are ſeen deprived of an arm; and this is the forfeit for daring to raiſe it againſt an European.

I embarked on the 17th of February for the Hope, in

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the river Comewina, on board a decent tent-boat rowed by ſix negroes, having once more bid adieu to my beloved Joanna. In the evening I paſſed the Sporkſgift eſtate, in the Matapica Creek; the next day I arrived at Arentruſt in Comewina, having paſſed the Orelana Creek and the fortreſs Somelſdyk, which is about ſixteen miles above Fort Amſterdam, and forms the ſeparation between that and the river Cottica, commanding the two oppoſite ſhores by the fire of its cannon. This fortreſs was built in the year 1684 by Governor Somelſdyk, whoſe name it ſtill bears. It is built in the form of a pentagon, having five baſtions mounted with artillery; it has a foſſe, and is well provided with military ſtores: though it is not large, it is well defended, eſpecially by its low and marſhy ſituation. Not far above this, to the right, is a fine creek, called Comete-Wana.

On the 19th, about noon, I reached the Hope; having found this river ſtill more charming than the river Cottica, both being bordered with beautiful eſtates of coffee and ſugar, the firſt of which abounds principally near its mouth. About half way up both theſe rivers are alſo in each a Proteſtant church, where the plantation people reſort to hear divine worſhip: the expence of the parſon, &c. being paid by the planters.

The eſtate L'Eſperance, or the Hope, where I now took the command, is a valuable ſugar-plantation, ſituated on the left ſide of the Comewina, at the mouth of a rivulet called Bottle Creek, and almoſt oppoſite to another creek

called Caffivinica: the Bottle Creek communicating with the Comewina and Pirica, as the Wana Creek does with Cormoetibo and Rio-Comewina.

Here the troops were lodged in temporary houfes built with the manicole-tree; but the fituation was fo low and marfhy as at fpring-tides to be entirely under water. The officers were all crowded in one apartment of the fame conftruction; while the planter's fine houfe, which might have been ferviceable for the pleafure and health of thefe gentlemen, was made ufe of by nobody but the overfeer of the eftate.

About a cannon-fhot higher up the river is the eftate Clarenbeek; where I went, on the 22d, to examine the ftate of the hofpital, and where I found the troops more difagreeably quartered than at the Hope, owing chiefly to the amazing number of rats with which this place was infefted, deftroying the men's clothes and provifions, and running over their faces by dozens as they lay in their hammocks. The only mode of remedying this horrid inconvenience, was to break holes in the bottoms of quart bottles, and then ftring them like beads upon the lafhings of each hammock, both at head and foot: when this was properly done, their polifh rendered it impoffible for the rats to reach the canvas.

Here the crowded hofpital afforded a melancholy fpectacle, by the miferable objects it prefented. Humanity fuffers fo much from fuch fcenes, that I felt myfelf happy upon my return to the Hope. My orders here were

much

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much the fame as they had been at Cottica, *viz.* to protect the eftates from the enemy: the parole or watch-word was regularly fent me by Colonel Fourgeoud. One of the Berbice negro captains, before mentioned, named *Ackeraw*, here difcovered an old decrepid flave called Paulus, belonging to this eftate, to be his brother. He acknowledged him with cordial affection, and treated him with much kindnefs: the fcene of their meeting was of courfe very interefting. In my walks round this plantation, I had an opportunity of obferving feveral curious birds, which I fhall now embrace the opportunity to defcribe.

The *queefe-queedee*, fo called on account of its note, is about the fize of a thrufh, and of a brown colour, except the breaft and belly, which are of a beautiful yellow: it is very mifchievous, and an unwelcome gueft upon the plantations. The wild pigeons are alfo common here. I fhot one that was very large, and refembling what is called the ring-tail pigeon of Jamaica. Its back and fides were of an afh colour; the tail a lead colour; the belly white; the neck reflecting a changeable green and purple; the iris and feet of this pigeon were red. I have alfo feen the dwarf pigeons here walking in pairs. They are about the fize of an Englifh fparrow, and rather of a lighter colour. I take thefe to be the *picui-nima* of Marcgrave. The eyes were bright, with a yellow iris, and upon the whole thefe diminutive creatures are very pretty. They are called *fleen-duyfie* by the Dutch, be-

caufe

cauſe they are frequently found amongſt ſtones and gravel. * Turtles are alſo found in Guiana, but ſeldom near the plantations, as they delight chiefly in the deepeſt receſſes of the foreſt. They build their neſts in trees of the thickeſt foliage, where I have found them, and even ſtroked them with my hand, without their attempting to fly away. They are little different from thoſe in Europe in point of colour, but rather leſs, and their wings of a more conſiderable length than thoſe of any other dove or pigeon whatever.

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I became daily more charmed with my ſituation; I was at liberty to breathe freely, and my proſpects of future contentment promiſed amply to compenſate for my paſt hardſhips and mortifications. Reſpected as the prince of the river; careſſed by the neighbouring planters, who plentifully ſupplied me with preſents of game, fiſh, fruit, and vegetables, I was ſcarcely the ſame man, and had very few wiſhes unſatisfied.

One day (the 5th of March) during my reſidence here, I was ſurpriſed by the waving of a white handkerchief from a tent-boat that was rowing up the river; when, to augment my happineſs, it unexpectedly proved to be my Mulatto, accompanied by her aunt, who now preferred Fauconberg eſtate, four miles above the Hope, to reſiding in the town; and to this plantation I immediately accompanied them.

* Dr. Bancroft erroneouſly calls this bird the only dove in Guiana.

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Here Joanna introduced me to a venerable old ſlave, her grandfather, who made me a preſent of half a dozen fowls. He was grey-headed and blind, but had been comfortably ſupported for many years through the kind attention of his numerous offspring. He told me he was born in Africa, where he had once been more reſpected than any of his Surinam maſters ever were in their country.

It will no doubt appear ſurpriſing to many of my readers to find me mention this female ſlave ſo often, and with ſo much reſpect; but I cannot ſpeak with indifference of an object ſo deſerving of attention, and whoſe affectionate attachment alone counter-balanced all my other misfortunes. Her virtue, youth, and beauty gained more and more my eſteem; while the lowneſs of her birth and condition, inſtead of diminiſhing, ſerved to increaſe my affection.—What can I ſay farther upon this ſubject?—Nothing; but content myſelf with the conſolation given by Horace to Phocius, the Roman ſoldier:

"Ne ſit ancillæ tibi amor pudori, &c."

"Let not my Phocius think it ſhame
"For a fair ſlave to own his flame;
"A ſlave could ſtern Achilles move,
"And bend his haughty ſoul to love:
"Ajax, invincible in arms,
"Was captiv'd by his captive's charms.

"Atrides

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"Atrides 'midſt his triumph mourn'd,
"And for a raviſh'd virgin burn'd;
"What time the fierce barbarian bands
"Fell by Pelides' conquering hands,
"And Troy (her Hector ſwept away)
"Became to Greece an eaſier prey.

"Who knows, when Phillis is your bride,
"To what high rank you'll be allied?
"Her parents dear, of gentle race,
"Shall not their ſon-in-law diſgrace.
"She ſprung from kings, or nothing leſs,
"And weeps the family's diſtreſs."

On the 6th of March I returned to the Hope, loaded with fowls, aubergines, brocoli, agoma, and a few Surinam cherries. The aubergines are a ſpecies of fruit which grows in the ſhape of a cucumber; they are of a purple colour without, and white within; they are cut in ſlices and eaten like ſallad, ſometimes ſtewed: they are very good and wholeſome. The leaves of the tree which bears this fruit are large and green, covered with a purple-coloured down. The agoma is a bitteriſh vegetable: the brocoli as in Europe, but ſcarce. The cherries are ribbed, very ſour, and unleſs very ripe fit only for preſerving.

On the prince of Orange's anniverſary, the 8th of March, I invited ſome company to drink his health,

 whilſt

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whilst Colonel Fourgeoud kept scouring the bushes; but the sum of his operations amounted only to having some of his men shot by the negroes, some lost in the woods; whilst the rebel Cupido escaped with all his chains. Of two men he sent me for the hospital at Clarenbeek, one was terribly cut by the rebels.

I received a present of a haunch of venison on the 17th from a Mr. D'Onis; and one of my slaves presented me with a lizard called *sapagala*, which is less in size and less agreeable food than the iguana, which I have already described, and which the Indians call *wayamaka*. Of this last dainty I did not partake, but gave it to the overseer, while with the venison I entertained all my officers.

Of the deer species there are two kinds; the stag or largest, called the *bajew*, is about the size of the English roebuck, with short curvated horns; the eyes are bright, and full of fire; the tail short; the hair a reddish brown, except the belly, which is white. These animals, when pursued, run with amazing strength and velocity. They are frequently seen near the plantations, where they commit great devastations among the sugar-canes; they are often shot by the negro or Indian huntsmen, which the planters keep on purpose. Hunting is impracticable as a sport to Europeans in this country, owing to the thickness of the woods. The deer are sometimes taken alive in crossing rivers, which they often

The Bajew, or Stag of Guiana.

The Wirrebocerra, or Small Deer.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1790, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

ten take to when over-heated, or to efcape their enemies. The flefh of this ftag is neither fat, tender, nor juicy, being much inferior to the European venifon, though greatly efteemed by the inhabitants of Surinam. The other fpecies the negroes call *boofee-cabritta*; the Indians *wirrebocerra*. Thefe are much fmaller, and more nimble in efcaping; their colour a yellowifh brown, covered with fmall white fpots; their eyes lively and piercing; their ears narrow and fhort; they have no antlers; their limbs are fmall, but nervous and ftrong; and their flefh more delicate than any other venifon I ever tafted.

On the 21ft, having vifited Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens at Fauconberg, we, after dinner, walked to a brick-manufactory, called *Appe-cappe*, which lies in the neighbourhood, and belongs to Governor Nepveu; where they make as good brick, and as expeditioufly, as in Europe. It is alfo a profitable bufinefs, not being common in Surinam. This I only relate as a proof of the abundant advantages of this country; where, moreover, the wood for burning the bricks may be had for cutting, if the inhabitants chufe to be induftrious. We were here, however, fo peftered with clouds of infects, called *monpeira*, that I was glad to take my leave, and return to the Hope. The monpeira are the fmalleft kind of gnats, but equally troublefome with the larger fpecies called mufquitoes. They fly fo thick and clofe together, that they appear like a cloud of black fmoke: they are fo fmall that numbers

numbers of them ſtick in the eyes, whence they cannot be extracted without pain, and even danger.

I always viſited by water, having at the Hope an elegant tent-boat, with half a dozen negroes at my command, who alſo ſhot and fiſhed for me. Upon the whole, I was here ſo happy and ſo much reſpected, that I could almoſt have engaged never more to change my ſituation.

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A Sugar Plantation described—Domestic Happiness in a Cottage—Further Account of Fourgeoud's Operations—Dreadful Cruelties inflicted by some Overseers—Instance of Resentment in a Rebel Negro Captain.

I HAVE already said that I was happy at the Hope; but how was my felicity augmented, when Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens came to visit me one evening, and not only gave me the address of Messrs. Passalage and Son at Amsterdam, the new proprietors of my Mulatto, but even desired me to take her to the Hope, where she would be more agreeably situated than either at Fauconberg or Paramaribo. This desire was unquestionably most readily complied with by me; and I immediately set my slaves to work, to build a house of manicole-trees for her reception.

In the mean time I wrote the following letter to Messrs. Passalage and Son.

"Gentlemen,

"BEING informed by Mr. Lolkens, the administrator "of the estate Fauconberg, that you are the present pro-"prietors; and being under great obligations to one of "your Mulatto slaves named Joanna, who is the daugh-

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"ter of the late Mr. Kruythoff, particularly for having "attended me during ficknefs; I in gratitude requeft of "you, who are her mafters, to let me purchafe her liberty "without delay: which favour fhall be ever thankfully "acknowledged, and the money for her ranfom imme- "diately paid, by

"Gentlemen,

"Your moft obedient fervant,

"JOHN GABRIEL STEDMAN,

"Captain in Colonel Fourgeoud's

"Corps of Marines."

This letter was accompanied by another from my friend Lolkens, who much cheared my profpects by the affurance of fuccefs.

Having difpatched thefe letters to Holland, I had now the opportunity of obferving the whole procefs of a fugar-plantation; of which I fhall endeavour to give an accurate defcription.

The buildings ufually confift of an elegant dwelling-houfe for the planter, outhoufes for the overfeer and book-keeper, befides a carpenter's lodge, kitchens, ftore-houfes, and ftables, if the fugar-mills be wrought by horfes or mules; but on the Hope thefe are not requifite, as the wheels move by water, ftored in canals during the fpring-tide by means of fluices, which being opened at low water pour out like a deluge, and fet the machinery in motion. A fugar-mill is built at the expence, of

of four thouſand, nay ſometimes ſeven or eight thouſand pounds. CHAP. XIII.

A particular deſcription of its conſtruction might be too tedious. I ſhall only obſerve, that the large water-wheel moves perpendicularly, and correſponds with another large wheel placed in an horizontal direction, and this again acts upon three cylinders or rollers of caſt-iron, ſupported underneath by a ſtrong beam, ſo cloſe together that when the whole is in motion, they draw in and ſqueeze as thin as paper whatever comes between them. In this manner the ſugar-cane is bruiſed, to ſeparate the juice or liquor from the traſh.

Thoſe mills that are wrought by cattle are conſtructed upon the ſame principles, only the horſes or mules anſwer the purpoſe of the horizontal wheel, by dragging round a large lever. If the water-mills work the faſteſt, and be the cheapeſt, yet as they muſt wait for the tides, they can only work part of the day; whereas the cattle-mills are always ready whenever the proprietor finds it convenient to uſe them. Adjoining to the mill-houſe is a large apartment, alſo built of brick, in which are fixed the coppers or large cauldrons to boil the liquid ſugar. Theſe are uſually five in number; oppoſite to theſe are the coolers, which are large ſquare flat-bottomed wooden veſſels, into which the ſugar is put from the cauldrons to cool before it is put into hogſheads, which are placed near the coolers upon ſtrong channeled rafters, that re-

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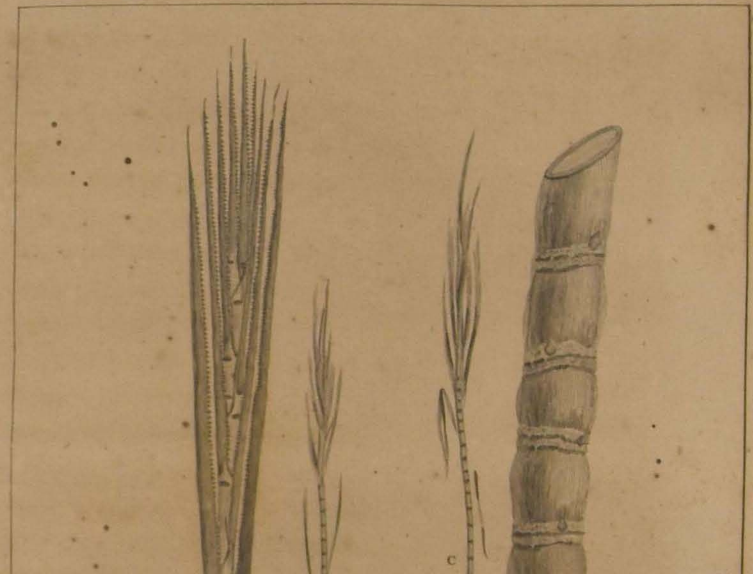
ceive the melaſſes as it drops from the ſugar, and convey it into a ſquare ciſtern placed underneath to receive it. The diſtillery joins this apartment, where the droſs or ſcum of the boiling ſugar is converted into a kind of rum, mentioned before, and known by the name of *kill-devil*. Every eſtate in Surinam keeps a tent-boat and ſeveral other craft, for the conveyance of their produce; they have alſo a covered dock, to keep them dry and repair them.

The ſugar eſtates in this colony contain five or ſix hundred acres; the parts for cultivation being divided into ſquares, where pieces of cane, about one foot long, are ſtuck into the ground in an oblique poſition, in rows ſtraight and parallel. They uſually plant them in the rainy ſeaſon, when the earth is well ſoaked and rich. The ſhoots that ſpring from theſe joints are about twelve or ſixteen months in arriving at maturity, when they become yellow, and of the thickneſs of a German flute, and from ſix to ten feet in height, and jointed, forming a very beautiful appearance, with pale green leaves like thoſe of a leek, but longer and denticulated, and which hang down as the crop becomes ready for cutting. The principal buſineſs of the ſlaves during the growth of the canes is pulling up the weeds, which would otherwiſe impoveriſh them.

Some ſugar eſtates have above four hundred ſlaves. The expence of purchaſing theſe, and erecting the build-

§ ings,



The Sugar Cane, in its four different Stages.

London, Published Decr. 1st. 1791, by J. Johnson St. Pauls Church Yard.

ings, frequently amounts to twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the value of the ground. CHAP. XIII.

But to give the reader a clearer idea of the sugar-cane, which is supposed to be a native of Guiana, I refer him to the annexed plate, where he may view it in the different stages, though on a smaller scale than nature; *A* being its first appearance above the ground; *B* the cane come to half maturity; *C* the same with drooping leaves, when fully ripe; *D* a piece cut off at one end, and broken off at the other.

We shall now examine its progress through the mill: here it is bruised between the three cylinders or rollers through which it passes twice, once it enters, and once it returns, when it is changed to trash, and its pithy substance into liquid, which is conducted as extracted, through a grooved beam, from the mill to the boiling-house, where it is received into a kind of wooden cistern.

So very dangerous is the work of those negroes who attend the rollers, that should one of their fingers be caught between them, which frequently happens through inadvertency, the whole arm is instantly shattered to pieces, if not part of the body. A hatchet is generally kept ready to chop off the limb, before the working of the mill can be stopped. Another danger is, that should a poor slave dare to taste that sugar which he produces by the sweat of his brow, he runs the risk of receiving

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fome hundred lafhes, or having all his teeth knocked out by the overfeer.—Such are the hardfhips and dangers to which the fugar-making negroes are expofed.

From the above wooden ciftern the liquor is let into the firft copper cauldron, filtering through a grating to keep back the trafh that may have efcaped from the mill; here, having boiled fome time, and been fcummed, it is put into the next cauldron, and fo on till in the fifth or laft it is brought to a proper thicknefs or confiftency to be admitted into the coolers: a few pounds of lime and allum are thrown into the cauldrons to make it granulate; thus it is boiled gradually ftronger and ftronger, until it reaches the laft cauldron. When it is put into the wooden coolers the fugar is well ftirred, and fcattered equally throughout the veffels; when cold it has a frozen appearance, being candied, of a brown glazed confiftency, not unlike pieces of high polifhed walnut-tree. From the coolers it is put into the hogfheads, which, upon an average, will hold one thoufand pounds weight of fugar; there it fettles, and through the crevices and fmall holes made in the bottoms it is purged of all its liquid contents, which are called melaffes, and, as I have faid, are received in an under-ground ciftern. This is the laft operation, after which the fugar is fit for exportation to Europe, where it is refined and caft into loaves. I fhall only farther obferve, that the larger the grain the better the fugar, and that no foil can be more proper for its cultivation than Guiana, the richnefs of which is in-

exhauftible,

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exhauftible, and produces upon an average three or four hogfheads *per* acre. In 1771, no lefs than twenty-four thoufand hogfheads were exported to Amfterdam and Rotterdam only, which, valued at fix pounds *per* hogfhead, though it has fometimes fold for double, returned a fum of near one hundred and fifty thoufand pounds fterling, befides the vaft quantity of melaffes and kill-devil; the firft computed at feven thoufand hogfheads, and fold to the North Americans for twenty-five thoufand pounds; the fecond, which is diftilled in Surinam, and ufed chiefly by the negroes, valued at as much more, which produces no lefs than two hundred thoufand pounds *per annum* *.

The kill-devil is alfo drank by fome of the planters, but too much by the common foldiers and failors, and, when new, acts as a flow pernicious poifon upon an European conftitution. On the contrary, it never hurts the negroes, but is even neceffary and wholefome, efpecially in the rainy feafons, when they are fometimes indulged with a fingle dram *per* day by their mafters, though this cuftom is far from being general. There is no part of this falutary plant ufelefs; the chaff refufe, and leaves of the cane, being ufed for manure and fuel. All the eftates are clofely furrounded by the uncultivated foreft, whence the herds of wild deer often commit very great ravages, when the pieces being furrounded by

* The firft fugar was refined anno 1659.

armed

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armed negroes, and dogs ſet in to diſperſe them, they are frequently ſhot. From what I have ſaid upon this ſubject alone, the reader may form an idea of the riches with which this country abounds; which, nevertheleſs, did not ſeem to ſtimulate its enemies during the late war to attempt the poſſeſſion of it: but I muſt ſay, I doubt whether Surinam, in the hands of any other nation than the Dutch, would not ceaſe to be of its preſent conſequence, the Hollanders being indiſputably the moſt patient, perſevering, induſtrious people that inhabit the globe.

Notwithſtanding, however, the immenſe wealth that the Weſt Indies in general afford, it will ever be my opinion that the Europeans might live as comfortably, if not more healthily, without them; the want of ſugar, coffee, cotton, cacao, indigo, rum, and Brazil wood, might be amply ſupplied by honey, milk, wool, Geneva, ale, Engliſh herbs, Britiſh oak, &c.

And now once more to reſume my narrative:—I have already mentioned that my ſlaves were employed in preparing an houſe for the reception of my beſt friend, which was about ſix days in completing. It conſiſted of a parlour, which alſo ſerved for a dining-room; a bed-chamber, where I alſo ſtowed my baggage; a piazza or ſhed to ſit under before the door; a ſmall kitchen detached from the houſe, and a poultry-houſe, the whole ſituated on a ſpot by itſelf, commanding an enchanting proſpect on every ſide, and ſurrounded with paling to keep off the

cattle.

cattle. My tables, ſtools, and benches, being all compoſed of manicole boards, the doors and windows were guarded with ingenious wooden locks and keys, that were preſented me by a negro, and were the work of his own hands. My houſe being thus far finiſhed and furniſhed, my next care was to lay in a ſtock of proviſions from Paramaribo, *viz.* a barrel of flour, another of ſalted mackarel, which in this country are delicious, they are imported from North America; hams, pickled ſauſages, Boſton biſcuit; alſo wine, Jamaica rum, tea, ſugar, a box of ſpermaceti candles; alſo two charming foreign ſheep and a hog, ſent me by Mr. Kennedy from his eſtate Vriedyk, beſides two dozen of fine fowls and ducks preſented me by Lucretia, my Joanna's aunt; while fruit, vegetables, fiſh, and veniſon, flowed upon me from every quarter as uſual.

On the 1ſt of April 1774, Joanna came down the river in the Fauconberg tent-boat, rowed by eight negroes, and arrived at the Hope: I communicated to her immediately the contents of my letter to Holland, which ſhe received with that gratitude and modeſty in her looks which ſpoke more forcibly than any reply. I introduced her to her new habitation, where the plantation ſlaves, in token of reſpect, immediately brought her preſents of caſſada, yams, bananas, and plantains, and never two people were more completely happy. Free like the roes in the foreſt, and diſencumbered of every care and ceremony, we breathed the pureſt ether in our walks, and refreſhed

our

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our limbs in the limpid ſtream: health and good ſpirits were now again my portion, while my partner flouriſhed in youth and beauty, the envy and admiration of all the colony.

Colonel Fourgeoud now intending to quit the woods, and encamp at Magdenberg, a poſt near the ſource of the Comewina, I ſent a large barge with proviſions, eſcorted by an officer and twenty men, to that place; and upon reviewing my remaining marines, they did not amount to twenty men, beſides a ſmall detachment at Calis, near the mouth of Caſſivinica Creek. Higher up the ſame creek, at an eſtate called *Cupy*, were alſo poſted an officer and a few ſoldiers.

On the morning of the 4th, I was witneſs to a very wonderful battle between two ſnakes, the one about three feet long, the other no more than fourteen inches; when, after a ſevere conteſt of near half an hour, during which time the many wreathings and twiſtings were truly curious, the largeſt gradually ſhifting his gripe, at length caught the ſmalleſt by the head, and abſolutely ſwallowed him alive.

My negro boy about this time throwing out ſome red-hot embers, I was ſurprized to ſee the frogs eat them with avidity, without receiving any viſible damage from the fire, which moſt probably they had miſtaken for the fire-fly. I ſaw another frog in the ſugar-mill, feaſting upon a regiment of ants, which are here very numerous, licking them up with his tongue as they marched be-

fore

fore him. Another of thefe animals flept every day upon one of the beams of my cottage, which it regularly left every night; this was called *yombo-yombo* by the negroes, from its great power in leaping: it is very fmall, almoft flat, a fine yellow, with black and fcarlet fpecks; it is frequently found in the upper ftories of houfes, where it arrives by climbing up the walls. We thought it a pretty little animal, and would allow nobody to hurt it.

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On the morning of the 8th, between fix and feven o'clock, whilft we were interring one of my ferjeants, we heard the report of feveral minute guns towards the river Pirica; in confequence of which, I immediately detached an officer and twelve men to give affiftance. They returned next day with an account that the rebels had attacked the eftate of *Kortenduur*, where, having pillaged fome powder, the plantation flaves being armed by their mafter, had bravely beaten them back before my affiftance could be of ufe.

A fmall detachment from Colonel Fourgeoud at Wana Creek arrived at the Hope on the 11th, with *September*, the negro prifoner, who related that the rebels had fpoken to Fourgeoud, and even laughed at him, having overheard him giving his orders, *viz.* not to fire on them, but to take them alive: and that amongft thofe loft in the woods was the unlucky *Schmidt*, who had lately been fo unmercifully beaten, and of which he had never yet recovered.

About the 13th, the fpring floods broke down the

dams,

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dams, and laid our whole poſt under water, except the ſpot where I had pitched my cabin, which remained dry, but unfortunately by this accident the officers and men were up to the knees in water. My worthy friend Mr. *Heneman*, the volunteer, arrived at this time from Colonel Fourgeoud's camp at Wana Creek, with a barge full of men and ammunition; he was now entered a lieutenant in my company: he informed us, that the remaining troops were marching for Magdenberg in Upper Comewina, there to go into quarters. This poor young man was much emaciated with miſery and fatigue, I therefore introduced him at his firſt landing to the care of *Joanna*, who was a moſt incomparable nurſe, and under whoſe care he felt himſelf extremely happy.

On the 14th, Colonel Fourgeoud with his troops being arrived at Magdenberg, the officers and privates of the Society, and the rangers to the amount of near two hundred men, were ſent down in barges to be ſtationed on different parts of the river Pirica. Some landed at the Hope to refreſh, and behaved ſo very diſorderly, as to oblige me and my officers to knock them down by half dozens, to keep the peace till they departed the ſame day, after which I diſpatched a tent-boat and eight oars to row the commander in chief with ſome of his favourites to Paramaribo, from which place he at laſt permitted the much-injured *Count Rantwick* to ſail for Holland.

On the 16th, the greateſt part of the ſheep belonging to this eſtate were unfortunately poiſoned by eating *duncane*, but mine, amongſt ſome others, luckily eſcaped.

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I am ſorry to ſay I have not particularly examined the duncane, as it is called by the negroes. All that I can ſay is; that it is a ſhrub with a large green leaf, ſomething like that of the Engliſh dock; it grows ſpontaneouſly in low and marſhy places, and is inſtant death to whatever animal eats of its leaves; the ſlaves therefore ſhould be obliged carefully to root it out from the graſs ſavannas or meadows where cattle graze, ſince ſheep and bullocks are ſaid to be remarkably fond of it, though contrary to nature, as moſt animals know, it is ſaid, inſtinctively how to diſtinguiſh their food from their poiſon. But the ſheep in queſtion not being the natural inhabitants of Guiana, may for that reaſon be admitted as an exception to this general rule. This baneful plant had inadvertently been permitted to grow in a negro's garden, to which the ſheep got acceſs by breaking down the fence, which occaſioned this unpleaſant cataſtrophe.

In this garden I ſaw ſeveral other roots and plants that deſerve to be noticed. The *yameſy*, or yam, a well-known root in the Weſt Indies, delights in a fat ſoil; this grows in Surinam ſometimes to the weight of two or three ſcore pounds, and an acre will produce an aſtoniſhing quantity *; its taſte is very agreeable, either boiled or roaſted, eaſy of digeſtion, and very wholeſome. The inſide is of a whitiſh colour, without it is of a deep purple approaching towards black; its ſhape is very irre-

* Sometimes from ten to twenty thouſand pounds weight.

 gular.

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gular. The yams are cultivated by cutting them in pieces like potatoes; they are planted a few feet diſtant from each other, and in about ſix or eight months they arrive at maturity; they are known to be fit for uſe when the top or leaves begin to loſe their verdure, till then they are of a deep green colour, and creep along the ground like ivy, with ligneous ſhoots. The yam is amongſt the principal food of the ſlaves throughout the Weſt Indies, and is alone ſufficient to ſupply the want of bread; alſo being capable of preſervation for almoſt a year, it is often tranſported, and uſed upon long voyages, and frequently brought to England. Another ſmall root I found here, known in Surinam by the name of *naapjes*, and which is eaten in the ſame manner as the yams, but is infinitely more delicious; both the one and the other ſerve here for food, as potatoes, carrots, or parſnips do in England.

The *maize* or Indian corn, which I alſo ſaw in this garden, grows on high perpendicular ſtalks, with long pale green leaves; the grain is of a ſhining yellow colour, as large as marrow-peas, and cloſely ſet together, round ears that are the ſize of the largeſt European carrot. This grain is cultivated in great quantities in Surinam; it is not only uſed for their poultry and cattle of every ſpecies, but is alſo ground into meal, of which the Creoles make excellent puddings and cakes, which are of a nouriſhing quality. With this they ſometimes eat the young pods of the *ocro*, or *althea plant*, which grows upon a very ſmall

ſhrub,

ſhrub, with oblong leaves, and which when boiled, as Dr. Bancroft expreſſes it, are of a mucilaginous, ſlimy, and lubricative texture, which ropy or glutinous quality, however diſguſting in appearance, makes a very rich ſauce when properly ſeaſoned with Cayenne pepper.

The ſame evening that proved ſo fatal to the ſheep, as I was walking out with my gun, as uſual, I ſhot a bird called here the *ſubacoo*; it is a ſpecies of the grey-heron, its bill and legs of a greeniſh black, and very long, the laſt appearing as if jointed by large ſcales of a hard and horny ſubſtance, and the claws on each middle toe are denticulated. This bird, though apparently the ſize of a common fowl, was ſo very light, that an Engliſh houſe-pigeon would have eaſily counterbalanced it; when dreſſed we found it to have a fiſhy flavour.

I have for ſome time been happily ſilent upon the ſubject of cruelty; and ſorry I am, at a time when all appeared harmonious and peaceable, to be under the neceſſity of relating ſome inſtances, which I am confident muſt inſpire the moſt unfeeling reader with horror and reſentment. The firſt object which attracted my compaſſion during a viſit to a neighbouring eſtate, was a beautiful Samboe girl of about eighteen, tied up by both arms to a tree, as naked as ſhe came into the world, and lacerated in ſuch a ſhocking manner by the whips of two negro-drivers, that ſhe was from her neck to her ancles literally dyed over with blood. It was after ſhe had received two hundred laſhes that I perceived her, with her

head

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head hanging downwards, a moſt affecting ſpectacle. When, turning to the overſeer, I implored that ſhe might be immediately unbound, ſince ſhe had undergone the whole of ſo ſevere a puniſhment; but the ſhort anſwer which I obtained was, that to prevent all ſtrangers from interfering with his government, he had made an unalterable rule, in that caſe, always to double the puniſhment, which he inſtantaneouſly began to put in execution: I endeavoured to ſtop him, but in vain, he declaring the delay ſhould not alter his determination, but make him take vengeance with double intereſt. Thus I had no other remedy but to run to my boat, and leave the deteſtable monſter, like a beaſt of prey, to enjoy his bloody feaſt, till he was glutted. From that day I determined to break off all communication with overſeers, and could not refrain from bitter imprecations againſt the whole relentleſs fraternity. Upon inveſtigating the cauſe of this matchleſs barbarity, I was credibly informed, that her only crime conſiſted in firmly refuſing to ſubmit to the loathſome embraces of her deteſtable executioner. Prompted by his jealouſy and revenge, he called this the puniſhment of diſobedience, and ſhe was thus flead alive. Not having hitherto introduced the Samboe caſt, I take this opportunity, by here repreſenting the miſerable young woman as I found her to the attention of the ſympathizing reader.

A Samboe is between a mulatto and a black, being of a deep copper-coloured complexion, with dark hair, that curls

Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave.

curls in large ringlets. Thefe flaves, both male and female, are generally handfome, and chiefly employed as menial fervants in the planters' houfes.

At my return to the Hope, I was accofted by Mr. Ebber, the overfeer of that eftate, who with a woeful countenance informed me he had juft been fined in the fum of twelve hundred florins, about one hundred guineas, for having exercifed the like cruelty on a male flave; with this difference, that the victim had died during the execution. In anfwer to his complaint, fo far from giving him confolation, I told him his diftrefs gave me inexpreffible fatisfaction.

The particulars of this murder were as follow: during the time that Captain Tulling commanded here, which was a little time before I came to the Hope, it happened that a fugitive negro belonging to this eftate had been taken upon an adjoining plantation, and fent home, guarded by two armed flaves, to Mr. Ebber; which fugitive, during the time Ebber was reading the letter that accompanied him, found means to fpring afide, and again efcaped into the foreft. This incenfed the overfeer fo much, that he inftantly took revenge upon the two poor flaves that had brought him, tying them up in the carpenter's lodge. He continued flogging them fo unmercifully, that Captain Tulling thought proper to interfere, and beg for mercy; but, as in my cafe, his interference produced the oppofite effect: the clang of the whip, mixed with their difmal cries, were heard to continue

for

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for above an hour after, until one of them expired under the cruel laſh, which put an end to the inhuman cataſtrophe. A law-ſuit was inſtantly commenced againſt Ebber for aſſaſſination. He was convicted, but condemned to no other puniſhment than to pay the afore-mentioned hundred guineas, which *price of blood* is always divided between the fiſcal and the proprietor of the deceaſed ſlave; it being a rule in Surinam, that by paying a fine of five hundred florins, not quite fifty pounds *per* head, any proprietor is at liberty to kill as many of his own negroes as he pleaſes; but if he kills thoſe of his neighbour, he is alſo to pay him for the loſs of his ſlave, the crime being firſt ſubſtantiated, which is very difficult in this country, where no ſlave's evidence can be admitted. Such is the legiſlature of Dutch Guiana, in regard to negroes. The above-mentioned Ebber was peculiarly tyrannical; he tormented a boy of about fourteen called *Cadetty*, for the ſpace of a whole year, by flogging him every day for one month; tying him down flat on his back, with his feet in the ſtocks, for another; putting an iron triangle * or pot-hook round his neck for a third, which prevented him from running away among the woods, or even from ſleeping, except in an upright or ſitting poſture; chaining him to the landing-place, night and day, to a dog's kennel, with orders to bark at every boat or canoe that paſſed for a fourth month; and ſo

* Theſe triangles have three long barbed ſpikes, like ſmall grapplings, projecting from an iron collar.

on,

on, varying his puniſhment monthly, until the youth became inſenſible, walking crooked, and almoſt degenerated into a brute. This wretch was, however, very proud of his handſomeſt ſlaves, and for fear of diſfiguring their ſkins, he has ſometimes let them off with twenty laſhes, when, for their robberies and crimes, they had deſerved the gallows. Such is the ſtate of public and private juſtice in Surinam. The wretch Ebber left the Hope upon this occaſion; and his *humane* ſucceſſor, a Mr. Blenderman, commenced his reign by flogging every ſlave belonging to the eſtate, male and female, for having over-ſlept their time in the morning about fifteen minutes.

The reader will, no doubt, imagine, that ſuch cruelties were unparalleled; but this is not the caſe, they were even exceeded, and by a female too.

A Mrs. S—lk—r going to her eſtate in a tent-barge, a negro woman, with her ſucking infant, happened to be paſſengers, and were ſeated on the bow or fore-part of the boat. The child crying, from pain perhaps, or ſome other reaſon, could not be huſhed; Mrs. S—lk—r, offended with the cries of this innocent little creature, ordered the mother to bring it aft, and deliver it into her hands; then, in the preſence of the diſtracted parent, ſhe immediately thruſt it out at one of the tilt-windows, where ſhe held it under water until it was drowned, and then let it go. The fond mother, in a ſtate of deſperation,

 inſtantly

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inſtantly leapt overboard into the ſtream, where floated her beloved offspring, in conjunction with which ſhe was determined to finiſh her miſerable exiſtence. In this, however, ſhe was prevented by the exertions of the negroes who rowed the boat, and was puniſhed by her miſtreſs with three or four hundred laſhes for her daring temerity.

Colonel Fourgeoud moved on the 20th, with all his troops, from Magdenberg, in order to eſtabliſh his head-quarters nearer the infirmary. His army being in a very ſickly condition, he fixed upon the eſtate called New Roſenback, ſituated between the Hope and the hoſpital, for his encampment. Thither I immediately repaired, to pay my reſpects to the chief; when I ſaw the remainder of his miſerable army landed, and received a further detail of the campaign. I have already mentioned Captain Fredericy's being wounded; one man loſt by neglect, and another cut and diſarmed; the captives running away, chains and all; the hero ſcoffed at, and ridiculed by his ſable enemies:—I ſhall now add, that a ſick marine was left to die or recover by himſelf; and that one of the ſlaves, by bad uſage, had his arm broke. The captive negro woman was alſo gone, never more to return to her conqueror, conſiderably increaſed in ſize from her connection with the troops, and likely to preſent a new recruit to her duſky monarch. Theſe were the particulars of the laſt campaign. But I muſt mention

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the humanity of a poor ſlave, who, at every hazard, deſerted Fourgeoud to attend the dying marine; and having performed the laſt ſad office of friendſhip, returned to receive his puniſhment, but to his infinite ſurprize was pardoned.

In juſtice to Colonel Fourgeoud I muſt ſay, that upon ſuch expeditions, and in ſuch a climate, many of theſe accidents cannot be prevented; and that while he killed his troops by ſcores, without making captures on the enemy, he nevertheleſs did the colony conſiderable ſervice, by diſturbing, hunting, and haraſſing the rebels, and deſtroying their fields and proviſions. For, it is certain, no negro will ever return to ſettle in thoſe haunts from which he has been once expelled. Colonel Fourgeoud's partaking perſonally in every danger and fatigue at his age, muſt make ſome amends for the other faults that ſtained his character, and may even ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to eſtabliſh his reputation as a man of patience and fortitude. It would give me infinitely more pleaſure to write nothing but in his praiſe; but truth, and the general benefit of mankind, requires, that whilſt I diſplay his good qualities I alſo point out his failings, as they may ſerve to correct others, and by theſe means even his vices may be rendered uſeful. What could be more ridiculous, than paying his troops with ſilver at Paramaribo, where paper was juſt as good? and now, while in the rivers, giving them cards, for which they

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could not procure a yam or a bunch of plantains, while he had whole chests of ſpecie in his poſſeſſion? But his object was to gain a profit of ten *per cent.* on the pay of the whole regiment, and for this he was juſtly blamed by the corps in general.

On the 21ſt, ſeveral officers came to viſit me at the Hope, whom I entertained with a fiſh dinner—amongſt which were the *kawiry*, the *lamper*, and *macrely-fiſy*, all which I ſhall briefly deſcribe. The kawiry is a ſmall fiſh without ſcales, the head is large, with two long antennæ or whiſkers projecting from the upper jaw, and is very plentiful in the rivers. The lamper is a ſpecies of the lampern, that are caught in the Thames: thoſe of Surinam are not large, but very fat, of a round ſhape, ſlimy or glutinous; its colour a blueiſh green with yellow ſpots, except the belly, which is white; this fiſh, like the ſalmon, frequents both the ſea and the rivers. The macrely-fiſy reſembles a mackarel, whence it has its name, only its colour is more blueiſh, and not near ſo ſplendid.

We were very happy, and my gueſts perfectly ſatisfied with their entertainment. But on the morning of the 22d my poor Joanna, who had been our cook, was attacked with a violent fever; ſhe deſired to be removed to Fauconberg, there to be attended by one of her female relations, which I complied with. But on the evening of the 25th ſhe was ſo extremely ill, that I determined to

viſit

visit her myself, but as privately as possible, as Fourgeoud was to visit me at the Hope the next day; for his satirical jokes upon such an occasion I could very well dispense with; and I knew the most laudable motives were no protection against the ungovernable sallies of his temper.

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However difficult the undertaking, as I had to pass close to his post, I like another Leander was determined to cross the Hellespont; of which having informed my friend Heneman, I set out about eleven at night in my own barge, when coming opposite New Rosenback, I heard Fourgeoud's voice very distinctly, as he walked on the beach with some other officers, and immediately the boat was hailed by a sentinel, and ordered to come ashore. I now thought all was over; but, persisting to the last, I told the negroes to answer *Killestyn Nova*, the name of an adjoining plantation, and thus got leave to proceed unmolested. Soon after I arrived safe at Fauconberg, and found my dearest friend much better.

But on the 26th, in the morning, mistaking the day-light for moon-shine, I overslept myself, and knew not how to return to the Hope, as my barge and negroes could now not pass without being well known to the Colonel. Delay was useless; so out I set, trusting entirely to the ingenuity of my slaves, who put me ashore just before we came in sight of the head-quarters; when one of them escorted me through the woods, and I arrived

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fafe at the Hope. But here my barge foon followed under a guard, and all my poor flaves prifoners, with an order from Fourgeoud for me to flog every one of them, as they had been apprehended without a pafs, while their excufe was that they had been out a fifhing for their *Maffera*.

Their fidelity to me upon this occafion was truly aftonifhing, as they all declared they would have preferred being cut in pieces, rather than betray the fecrets of fo good a mafter. However, the danger was foon over, as I confirmed what they had faid, and added, that the fifh were intended to *regale the hero*; after which I made a donation of two gallons of rum among my fable privy-counfellors. This paffage, however trifling, may ferve as a fample not only of European weaknefs, but of African firmnefs and refolution.

Notwithftanding my preparation, ftill Colonel Fourgeoud did not vifit me on the 27th, but the next morning Joanna arrived, accompanied by a ftout black, who was her uncle, and whofe arm was decorated with a filver band, on which were engraved thefe words: "True "to the Europeans." This man, who was named Cojo, having voluntarily fought againft the rebels, before his companions, by the inhuman treatment of Mr. D. B. and his overfeer, had been forced to join them. From thefe he related to us the following remarkable ftory, having a little girl, called Tamera, by the hand:—"This "child's father," faid he, "is one whofe name is Jolly "Cœur,

" Cœur, the firſt captain belonging to Baron's men, and, " not without cauſe, one of the fierceſt rebels in the foreſt, " which he has lately ſhewn on the neighbouring eſtate of " New Roſenback, where your colonel now commands. " On that eſtate one Schults, a Jew, being the manager at " that time, who formerly was the manager of Faucon- " berg, the rebels ſuddenly appeared, and took poſſeſ- " ſion of the whole plantation. Having tied the hands of " Schults, and plundered the houſe, they next began to " feaſting and dancing, before they thought proper to end " his miſerable exiſtence. In this deplorable ſituation now " lay the victim, only waiting Baron's ſignal for death, " when his eyes chancing to catch the above captain's, Jolly " Cœur, he addreſſed him nearly in the following words: " —' O Jolly Cœur, now remember Mr. Schults, who was " once your deputy-maſter; remember the dainties I gave " you from my own table, when you were only a child, and " my favourite, my darling, among ſo many others: re- " member this, and now ſpare my life by your powerful " interceſſion.'—The reply of Jolly Cœur was memorable: " —I remember it perfectly well: ' But you, O tyrant, re- " collect how you raviſhed my poor mother, and flogged " my father for coming to her aſſiſtance. Recollect, that " the ſhameful act was perpetrated in my infant preſence " —Recollect this—then die by my hands, and next be " damn'd.'—Saying this, he ſevered his head from his body " with a hatchet at one blow; with which having played

" at

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"at bowls upon the beach, he next cut the ſkin with a "knife from his back, which he ſpread over one of the "cannon to keep the priming dry."—Thus ended the hiſtory of Mr. Schults; when Cojo, with young Tamera, departed, and left me to go, with an increaſed impatience, to receive the news, that I ſoon was to expect from Amſterdam, *viz.* when the deſerving Joanna ſhould be free from the villainy of ſuch peſts of human nature.

On the 28th, Colonel Fourgeoud arrived about ten o'clock with one of his officers, and with the very devil painted in his countenance, which alarmed me much. I, however, inſtantly introduced him to my cottage, where he no ſooner ſaw my mate, than the clouds (like a vapour by the ſun) were diſpelled from his gloomy forehead: and I muſt confeſs, that I never ſaw him behave with more civility.

——— "Her heavenly form
"Angelic, but more ſoft and feminine,
"Her graceful innocence, her every air
"Of geſture, or leaſt action, over-aw'd
"His malice; and with rapine ſweet bereav'd
"His fierceneſs of the fierce intent it brought."

MILTON.

Having

Having entertained him in the beſt manner we were able, and now related the ſtory of the Helleſpont, he laughed heartily at the ſtratagem, and giving us both a ſhake by the hand departed to New Roſenback, in good-humour and perfectly contented.—From all the preceding circumſtances, the above Chapter may be ſtiled the golden age of my Weſt India expedition. CHAP. XIII.

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Colonel Fourgeoud at Paramaribo—Example of Ignorance in a Surgeon—Of Virtue in a Slave—Of Ferocity in a Commander—The Troops re-enter the Woods—Account of Loango Dancing—Uncommon Proof of Fidelity in a Negro.

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HAVING delayed his departure to the 29th of April, Colonel Fourgeoud now finally rowed down for Paramaribo, accompanied by a few of his officers, to refresh themselves; of which, in truth, they had great need, while an armed barge kept floating up and down the river, and while the remaining emaciated troops (which were melted down to a very small number, and unfit, till recruited in their constitutions, for any further military service) greatly required some rest. Just before the chief's departure, he sent me (who now commanded the river) the following very curious instructions, which, as a proof of his generalship, I cannot help inserting: Amongst others, "to ask the planters if the rebels were "come to their estates, in which case to attack and drive "them away; but not to follow them, unless I was sure "that I certainly should conquer them, and for any mis-"carriage I should be called to an account;" which is, in plain English, that "if I attacked the enemy without "success,

"success, I must be punished; and if I did not attack them "at all, I was to be called to account for neglect of duty." However judicious the other articles I had received, I could not help thinking the above so very absurd, that I immediately returned them back by an officer, and had the good fortune (at my request) to get them changed into common sense.

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How happy was I at this time in particular, who wanted for nothing, and who had such an agreeable partner constantly near me, whose sweet conversation was divine music to my ears, and whose presence banished every languor and hardship from my mind!

One day, straying with me through a watery savanna, I shot a bird, which I found to be the spur-winged water-hen of Edwards. This beautiful creature is supposed to be of the plover kind, with the body about the size of a pigeon, being of a deep cinnamon colour, between red and a very rich orange; the neck and belly are perfectly black, the larger feathers of the wings of a bright yellow, and armed on each pinion with a short and sharp horny spur, which it uses for its defence, as game-cocks use theirs in England. It has no tail; its bill is near two inches in length; its legs are long, and, as well as the bill, are of a yellowish green colour; its toes, especially the hinder ones, are of a remarkable length, and seem calculated to support its weight in the mud, where it is most frequently seen, if not wading in the water to seek its food. These birds, like plovers, never swim; they have

 a scarlet

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a scarlet crest and small pearls (like those of the Muscovy duck) separating the bill from the eyes; they are always seen in pairs, and when they fly produce an agreeable whistling from their throats. The spur-winged water-hen, on account of its great beauty, reminded me of another fine bird I lately saw upon one of the neighbouring estates, but which I had forgotten to mention: this was the Guiana curlew, here called *flamingo*, from its great resemblance to the famous bird of that name, seen in Canada and many parts of North and South America, and which is supposed to be of the crane kind, with its body as large as that of an European swan. This bird, however, is only the size of a small heron; it has no tail, but a very long neck, and long limbs, with four toes: the head is small, and the bill also long, round, and arched. The flamingo lays always two eggs, which, when hatched, the chickens appear black, next grey, then white, as they come nearer maturity; and, finally, the whole bird becomes a bright scarlet or crimson, some not lighter than the colour of blood. They live in society like the storks, and mostly on the banks of rivers, or near the sea, where they are seen in such amazing flocks, that the sands seem dyed with vermilion; these birds, when young, are accounted very good eating, and are so tame, that on the plantations they are frequently seen walking and feeding among the poultry, though fish and animal food they generally prefer.

Thus

The Spur winged Water hen of Guiana.

The Red Curlew of Surinam.

London, Published Dec.r 2, 1793 by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

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Thus I daily found ſome new object to deſcribe, and ſpent the moſt agreeable hours, conſtantly accompanied by my young mulatto, upon this Elyſian plantation—but alas! all at once, in the midſt of my hopes, my truly halcyon days were blaſted, and I was almoſt plunged into deſpair, by receiving the fatal news of the death of Mr. Paſſalage at Amſterdam, to whom I had written to obtain my mulatto's manumiſſion; and what muſt certainly redouble my diſtreſs, was the ſituation in which ſhe proved to be, promiſing fair to become a mother in the ſpace of a few months. It was now that I ſaw a thouſand horrors intrude all at once upon my dejected ſpirits; not only my friend but my offspring to be a ſlave, and a ſlave under ſuch a government!—Mr. Paſſalage, on whom I relied, dead —the whole eſtate going to be ſold to a new maſter—I could not bear it, and was totally diſtracted; nay, muſt have died of grief, had not the mildneſs of her temper ſupported me, by ſuggeſting the flattering hopes that Lolkens would ſtill be our friend. In the midſt of theſe reflections, on the evening of the 4th, we heard the report of ſeveral alarm-guns towards the North Eaſt, on which, by day-break next morning, I ſent a detachment to Rio-Pirica, which returned about noon with the account of the rebels attacking the eſtate Merſeille, in the river Cottica; but that they had been beaten back by the plantation ſlaves, as they had before by thoſe of Kortenduur. The other news was, that they had ill treated a party of poor Indians, ſuſpecting them to have aſſiſted

CHAP. XIV. the eſtates in making their defence; alſo that at Paramaribo, an inſurrection was diſcovered among the negroes, who had determined to join the rebels, after firſt having maſſacred all the inhabitants; that, however, they were detected, and the ringleaders executed.

On the morning of the 6th, we again heard ſeveral muſquet-ſhot in the woods, which apprehending to be ſome European party that had loſt their way, I made my ſentinel anſwer the ſignals of diſtreſs, by firing his piece alternately with theirs, ſhot for ſhot, to which I added two drums, that kept beating for ſeveral hours without intermiſſion, when the report of their fire-arms gradually approached nearer and nearer: and now at length appeared a Society ſerjeant and ſix privates that belonged to Reedwyk in Pirica, and had been loſt in the foreſt for three days, nearly ſtarved, without hammocks, meat, or drink, excepting water. Having refreſhed them in the beſt manner I was able, they all recovered to my very great ſatisfaction, though one of them remained perfectly blind for ſeveral hours, with the ſting of a kind of waſps, which are known in this country by the name of *marobonſo*; of which the only thing that I can ſay is, that they are extremely large, live in hollow trees, are the ſtrongeſt of the bee kind, and ſting ſo violently, that the pain is excruciating, and always occaſions a fever.

Having, on the 12th, ſwam twice acroſs the river Cottica, which is above half a mile broad, I came home in a ſhiver, and next day had an intermitting fever: by abſtaining,

ſtaining, however, from animal food, and uſing plenty of acid with my drink, I had no doubt of getting well in a few days; the more ſo, as tamarinds grew here in profuſion. CHAP. XIV.

Indeed, on the 16th, I was almoſt perfectly recovered, (weakneſs excepted) when about ten in the morning, as I was ſitting with Joanna before my cottage, I had an unexpected viſit from a Mr. Steger, who happened to be one of our ſurgeons. After having felt my pulſe, and examined my tongue, he declared without ceremony that I ſhould be dead before the morrow, unleſs without further delay I made uſe of his preſcription. I acknowledge the ſentence ſtaggered me ſo much that, though at other times I never uſed medicines at all, I inſtantly ſwallowed the doſe, which he had prepared for me in a tumbler, without heſitation, but almoſt as inſtantly I dropped down on the ground.

In this manner I lay till the 20th, being four days before I came to my ſenſes, when I found myſelf ſtretched on a mattraſs in my little houſe, with poor Joanna ſitting by me alone, and bathed in tears, who begged of me at that time to aſk no queſtions, for fear of hurting my ſpirits, but who next day related to me the diſmal tranſaction, *viz.* that the moment I fell, four ſtrong negroes had taken me up, and by her direction placed me where I now was; that the ſurgeon having put bliſters on ſeveral parts of my body, had finally declared that I was dead, and had ſuddenly left the plantation, when a grave and

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and coffin were ordered for my burial on the 17th, which ſhe had prevented by dropping upon her knees to implore a delay; that ſhe had diſpatched a black to her aunt at Fauconberg for wine-vinegar, and a bottle of old Rheniſh, with the firſt of which ſhe had conſtantly bathed my temples, wriſts, and feet, by keeping without intermiſſion five wet hankerchiefs tied about them, while with a tea-ſpoon ſhe had found means to make me ſwallow a few drops of the wine mulled; that I had lain motionleſs during all that time; while ſhe had day and night, by the help of Quacoo and an old negro, attended me, ſtill hoping for my recovery: for *which ſhe now* thanked her God. To all this I could only anſwer by the tear of ſympathy that ſtarted from my eyes, and a feeble ſqueeze of my hand.

I had, however, the good fortune to recover, but ſo ſlowly that, notwithſtanding the great care that was taken of me by that excellent young woman, (to whom alone I owed my life) it was the 15th of June before I could walk by myſelf, during all which time I was carried on a ſpecies of chair by two negroes, ſupported on two poles like a ſedan, and fed like an infant, being ſo lame and enervated that I was not able to bring my hand to my mouth; while poor Joanna (who had ſuffered too much on my account) was for ſeveral days following very ill herſelf.

Great was the change from what I had been but ſo ſhortly before—then the moſt healthy and moſt happy

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in body and mind, and now depreſſed to the loweſt ebb, in my conſtitution and my ſpirits. My friend Heneman, who viſited me every day, at this time told me that upon information he had diſcovered the medicine which had ſo nearly killed me to be only tartar-emetick and ipecacuanha, but in too great a quantity, *viz.* four grains of the firſt, mixed with forty grains of the latter; the ſurgeon having meaſured my conſtitution by my ſize, which is above ſix feet. I was ſo much incenſed at this piece of ſtupidity, that on the 4th of June, having drank his Britannic Majeſty's health in a rummer of Madeira, and the fatal ſurgeon coming to make me a bow, he no ſooner put his foot on the landing-place, where I was ſitting in my palanquin or chair for air, than, having previouſly clubbed one of the poles that carried me, upon my ſhoulder, I let it fall upon his guilty pericranium, my ſtrength being as yet too feeble to aim a blow. The poor fellow no ſooner felt the weight of the pole, than forgetting the reſt of his compliments, he ſkipped back into his boat with all expedition, with which he decamped as faſt as the negroes could row him, to our no ſmall entertainment, who ſaluted him with three cheers.

About this time, while the troops were doing nothing, two of the braveſt men in the colony, with the rangers, entered the woods, *viz.* Captain Fredericy, and the militia captain, Stoelman; they killed three or four of the rebels, and took a few more priſoners, who had been ſtarving for want of ſubſiſtence ever ſince Fourgeoud had ran-

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ſacked the ſurrounding foreſt, and deſtroyed their fields. In the creek Patamaca, alſo two rebel negroes, attempting to plunder Mr. Winey's plantation, were ſhot by his ſlaves, who ſent their right hands barbacued to Paramaribo.

Being ſtill ſo weak that I was unfit for any duty, even at the Hope, I now ſurrendered the command of that poſt to the next officer in rank: and expecting that a change of air would be beneficial to me, with the previous knowledge of Colonel Fourgeoud, I went on a viſit to a neighbouring eſtate, called Egmond, where the planter, Monſieur de Cachelieu, a French gentleman, had given me a moſt hearty invitation, with Joanna, my boy Quaco, and a white ſervant. At this place I was extremely comfortable, and nothing could be better calculated for my ſpeedy recovery than this Frenchman's hoſpitality and good-humour. How inconſiſtent with this was his injuſtice and ſeverity to his ſlaves! For inſtance, two young negroes, who well deſerved a flogging, by breaking in and robbing their maſter's ſtore-houſe, came off with a few laſhes; while two old ones, for a trifling diſpute, were each condemned to receive no leſs than three hundred.

On my aſking the cauſe of this partiality, I was anſwered by Monſ. de Cachelieu, that the young ones had ſtill a very good ſkin, and might do much work; whereas the old ones had long been disfigured, worn out, and almoſt unfit for any ſervice; nay, that killing them altogether would be a benefit to the eſtate.—At Arentruſt,

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a few plantations lower down, ſome days before, a poor negro was ſent with a letter from his proprietor to the manager there—this laſt, not liking the contents, gave the meſſenger four hundred laſhes, telling the innocent man, at the ſame time, to carry that for the anſwer to his maſter.

But to return to my French hoſt, (who was, in this alone excepted, as polite, hoſpitable, and well-bred a man as ever I would wiſh to converſe with) I muſt mention ſome particulars of his remarkable œconomy, *viz.* a Weſt-India rabbit, called in Surinam *coney coney*, and by the Indians *puccarara*, but properly the *agouti*, I ſaw one day come roaſted to the table. Of this, he and I eat one quarter. Next day it made its appearance *a la crapodine*, that is, with ſalt and pepper on the gridiron. The third day the remaining half entered in the form of a French fricaſee; and a fourth, the laſt quarter was converted into what I call meagre ſoup.

This I relate as a fact; and though the planter, his overſeer, his dog, and his two cats, could not weigh fourteen ſtone amongſt them all, no family in Surinam could be more healthy or contented.—As an inſtance of abſtemiouſneſs, the overſeer, Mr. Bodewyn, declared that he never had fought a battle, fired a muſquet, mounted a horſe, or taken any illicit freedom; though he acknowledged he was every day dreſſed and ſhaved by the ſoft hand of a young negro female.

Nothing could be better than the oranges and china

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apples that I found on this eſtate.—The firſt I have already deſcribed; and, though often confounded with the latter, it is a very diſtinct fruit upon the whole. The china apples, or civil oranges, as they are uſually called, differ in this from the other oranges, that they are more lucid, and of a more ſavoury taſte; that the ſhell is ſmoother, thinner, and not ſo deep coloured; and particularly, that while the oranges may be eaten in any quantity, without pernicious conſequences, the immoderate uſe of the china apples is by long experience in this colony found to produce very dangerous effects. This fruit being here much the ſame as that which comes from Liſbon, it is ſuppoſed to have been imported at firſt (as was the other) by the Portugueſe or the Spaniards; and it may well be conceived, that in thoſe countries, where it drops ripe from the trees in golden cluſters, it muſt be incomparably more delicious than it can ever be taſted in Great Britain, being ſent thither green, after which it indeed becomes orange, but can never arrive to its proper ſtate of maturity. As for the fine fragrance that is diffuſed through all this colony, by the continued groves of orange-bloſſoms and odoriferous fruits that it produces, it can be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. I alſo found ſome fine lemons on this eſtate, which however are here thick ſhelled, but very large. There are alſo a ſpecies of ſweet ones, which are ſmaller, and which have, in my opinion, a very inſipid taſte.

Having mentioned Monſ. de Cachelieu's fine fruit, I ought

ought not to forget his excellent French wines, which were perfectly unadulterated and truly delicious, particularly his mufcadell. But in fpite of all thefe good things, I ftill continued a valetudinarian, being oppreffed with weaknefs and indigeftion. Thus, in hopes that exercife on horfeback might do me good, I determined to take leave of my hofpitable French friend, and afk leave of abfence to go for fome time to Paramaribo.

In confequence, on the 9th, Colonel Fourgeoud arriving in the river at the eftate Crawaffibo, and expecting foon to renew his manœuvres, I, on the 10th, wrote him a letter for the above purpofe, and alfo for above fix months pay, which was due to me. I was anfwered, on the 12th, not only with a negative to both my requefts, which had been granted to other officers, but in fo truly impertinent a ftyle, as I could not, even from himfelf, have expected—fuch as calling in queftion my zeal, though he knew I was fick; and refufing me my own money, or even the proper remedies and means of recovering. This incenfed me fo much, that I wrote him a fecond letter, to let him know I was incapable of doing or afking any thing unbecoming my character, but on the contrary (ill as I was) ready to give him fuch proofs of my honour as fhould leave him no farther room to doubt of it, fhould he be pleafed to put it to the proof. This epiftle, weak and unfit as I was for fervice, I followed in perfon two days after, with my French

friend

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friend Cachelieu for my companion and voucher, who gave me the uſe of his tilt-barge with eight oars for the purpoſe.

On our arrival I expected to ſee Fourgeoud raging with reſentment, that he would put me under an arreſt, and aſk an explanation of our laſt correſpondence. But I dreaded not the worſt that he could do, after the many trials to ruin me which he had already put in execution, and death itſelf was almoſt preferable to his cruelty.

Monſieur de Cachelieu and I, however, were both diſappointed. He not only took uſ politely by the hand, but ſolicited us to dine with him, as if nothing had happened. But this affectation I deſpiſed, and refuſed to accept of his invitation with contempt, in which I was followed by the French planter. When, in my turn, I enquired for the cauſe of his refuſing my requeſt, and ſending me ſo ſtrange a letter, this was the anſwer—That thirty or forty of the Ouca negroes, who were our allies by treaty, had deceived him, in doing nothing while they had been in the woods, and during the time he had been at Paramaribo: that he was in conſequence determined to puſh on the war with double vigour; on which account he had not only forbidden me to go to town, but had ſince ordered even all the ſick officers to come up and to follow the enemy, while they had ſtrength or breath remaining, not ſo much as leaving one at Paramaribo to guard the colours and the regiment's cheſt, which had both been left to the care of

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a quarter-maſter.—This, indeed, was literally the fact; but to this he might ſafely, and without hurting his conſcience, have added, the inveteracy of his diſpoſition, with which he had determined to perſecute me and ſome others to annihilation. I ought to mention, that it was not till about this time that he iſſued orders to be obſerved on a march, and that previous to this every thing was performed in perfect hurry and confuſion, which indeed even afterwards was too frequently the caſe.

Having now been near two months on the eſtate Egmond, where I could not recover, and not being permitted to go to Paramaribo, I preferred returning back again to take the command at the Hope; where having entertained Monſieur de Cachelieu in the beſt manner I was able, this gentleman in the evening returned to his plantation.

At the Hope I found my friend Mr. Heneman (who was now made a captain) very ſick, with ſeveral others. All theſe, as well as myſelf, were left without a ſurgeon, medicines, or money; while, as I ſtated before, the many hogſheads of wine ſent from Amſterdam, together with ſcores of kegs containing preſerved vegetables, and other freſh proviſions, were for ever kept inviſible from the poor, emaciated, and languiſhing troops, for whom they had certainly been intended by that city. I indeed here made one more attempt to recover our property, but to no purpoſe; money, medicines, wine, and refreſhments, were all kept back. Thus did we continue to pine and loſe ſtrength, inſtead of gaining it. I mean the greateſt part

of

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of us: as for myſelf, I had the leaſt cauſe to complain, being well attended by Joanna and my ſervants, who the next day all arrived from Egmond at the Hope, beſides receiving preſents, which were as uſual ſent me from all quarters. One additional inconvenience I however felt—my feet were infeſted with chigoes, which I partly impute to having, during my illneſs, worn ſtockings and ſhoes while at the good Frenchman's eſtate Egmond. Of this troubleſome inſect I have already made ſome mention, as being extremely numerous at Devil's Harwar, but now ſhall circumſtantially deſcribe it.

The *chigoe* is a kind of ſmall ſand-flea, that gets in between the ſkin and the fleſh without its being felt, and generally under the nails of the toes; where, while it feeds, it keeps growing till it becomes the ſize of a large pea, cauſing no further pain than a diſagreeable itching; in proceſs of time it appears in the form of a ſmall bladder, in which are depoſited thouſands of eggs or nits, and which, if it breaks, produce ſo many young chigoes, that in courſe of time create running ulcers, which are often of very dangerous conſequence to the patient: ſo much ſo, indeed, that I have known a ſoldier, the ſoles of whoſe feet were obliged to be cut away with a razor, before he could recover; and ſome men have loſt their limbs by amputation—nay even their lives, by having neglected in time to root out theſe abominable vermin. The moment, therefore, that one perceives a kind of itching and redneſs more than uſual

about

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about the feet, it is time to begin extracting the chigoe that occasions it: this is done with a sharp-pointed needle, at which operation the black girls are extremely dexterous, taking every care not to occasion unnecessary pain, and to prevent the chigoo or bladder from breaking in the wound. The cure is to put tobacco-ashes in the orifice, by which in a little time it is perfectly healed. Being at this time, as I have just mentioned, infested with the chigoes, Joanna with her needle picked twenty-three of these insects out of my left foot; which being all hatched under the nails, caused, as may be imagined, the most terrible torment, but which I bore without flinching, with the resolution of an African negro. These are the insects called *niquas* by the Spaniards at Carthagena.

On the 21st I received a letter from the commander in chief, not an answer to my last, but orders to send him up to the estate Crawassibo (which was at present his head-quarters) all the provisions, kettles, axes, &c. that could be spared from the Hope, as he was preparing to re-enter the woods. I accordingly dispatched them the next day: but the supply of victuals was not great; for a whole barge, with beef and pork, bound for the Hope, had been shipwrecked in the river.

On the 25th Mr. Steger, the surgeon who had so nearly poisoned me that I could not yet get the better of the effects of his ignorance, was discharged from the regiment, as incapable of his profession. Still, notwithstanding my unsettled state of health, as several officers

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were going to join Fourgeoud about this time, and weak as I was, I intreated once more to be one of the party. But on the morning of the 26th, his adjutant, with another surgeon, visiting all the troops that were in Comewina, I was deemed totally incapable of supporting the fatigue: indeed so much so, that relapsing on the 29th, I was even glad to be superseded in the command of the river by the major, Mr. Medlar, who arrived at the Hope this day for that purpose. Nevertheless I was condemned to linger at this place, while one month at Paramaribo might have perfectly recovered me.—I had now nothing to do but to continue my drawings, for which the above gentleman at that time offered me one hundred crowns, but my desire was, if possible, to complete the collection; and when I had the strength, I walked round the plantation with my gun. Amongst others, I shot, on the 3d of September, a small bird, called *kibry-fowlo*, on account of its continuing in a manner constantly under cover. It was about the size of a thrush, and very much the colour of a quail, which it also exactly resembled in shape, but the limbs were rather longer, and the bill was extremely sharp-pointed. This bird is very seldom seen on the wing, but runs incredibly fast through the grass and savannas, where it hides itself the instant it is perceived. When dressed, it was as fat as a lump of butter, and as delicious as an European ortolan.

On the 11th of September, Fourgeoud at last broke up from Crawassibo, and, with all the able troops he could collect

collect (which were now not much more than one hundred) he again marched into the forest after the enemy; having previously taken away the post from the Jew Savannah, which he placed at the forsaken estate Oranjebo, in the very upper parts of Rio Comewina, leaving the river Surinam to take care of itself. CHAP. XIV.

On the 19th of this month in the forenoon, a herd of wild swine, called *pingos*, (more than two hundred in number) having lost their way in the forest, came to the Hope, galloping over the plantation, when above a score of them were killed by the negroes, who knocked them down with their bill-hooks and axes. In Surinam the wild boars are of three species; which I will embrace this opportunity to describe — these are the *pingos* or *waree* above-mentioned, the *cras-pingo*, and the Mexican hog, called the *peccary*. The *pingos* are about the size of our English small hogs; they are black, and have coarse bristles thinly scattered; they live in herds of sometimes above three hundred, in the thickest parts of the forest, and run always in a line, the one closely following the other; when the foremost or leader is shot, the line is instantly broken, and the whole herd is in confusion; for which reason the Indians take care (if possible) to knock their captain on the head before the rest; after this the others even often stand still, stupidly looking at one another, and allowing themselves to be killed one by one, of which I have been a witness. They do not attack the human species, nor

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make any reſiſtance at all, like the European wild-boar, when wounded, as has been by ſome authors erroneouſly aſſerted. As for their attacking dogs, I can ſay nothing about it, never having had any with me when I met them.—The *cras-pingos* are large, armed with ſtrong tuſks, and their briſtles ſtill coarſer than the former. This large ſpecies indeed are very dangerous, as well from their ſtrength as their ferocity, attacking any thing that obſtructs them in their way, eſpecially when wounded. They move in the ſame manner, and in as large herds, as the former, but inhabit chiefly the more inland parts of the country. Both theſe ſpecies, when they hear the ſmalleſt noiſe in the foreſt that indicates danger, ſtop ſhort in their courſe, form in a cloſe body, and gnaſh their teeth, preparing themſelves for defence againſt the enemy: I am of opinion that theſe are not natural to Guiana, but originally from Africa and Europe. Their fleſh is eaten with avidity by the natives, and even eſteemed by the white inhabitants, but is in my opinion dry, hard, and unſavoury.—That ſpecies which is called the *peccary* or Mexican-hog, is alone ſuppoſed to be indigenous to Guiana, and will not intermix with either the wild or domeſtic hogs. This animal is particularly remarkable by having an orifice on the back, which is vulgarly miſtaken for its navel, and which, being about one inch deep, contains a ſtinking fetid liquor, which ſome compare to the ſmell of muſk, but which is ſo very diſagreeable, that the inſtant the animal is killed,

the

The Pingo Warree, or Wild Boar of Guiana.

The Pecary, or Mexican Hog.

the natives take care to cut away this part with a knife, to prevent its infecting the fleſh, which it would ſoon do, making it ſo diſguſting as not to be eatable. The length of the peccary is about three feet: it has no tail; fine limbs, ſhort tuſks, and yellowiſh grey briſtles, much reſembling thoſe of an Engliſh hedge-hog; on the back they are very long, but on the ſides and on the belly they are both ſhort and very thinly ſcattered. This creature has a light-coloured ſpot that comes down from the ſhoulder on each ſide the breaſt, ſomething like a horſe-collar. Hogs of this ſpecies are more uncommon in the low and marſhy countries than in the inland parts, where they prefer feeding amongſt the mountains and dry ſavannas. The peccary is eaſily tamed, and in that ſtate harmleſs and inoffenſive, but not ſo ſtupid as is aſſerted by the Count de Buffon, who ſays, they know no perſon, and have no attachment to thoſe that feed them; for Major Medlar had one at the Hope that followed him like a dog, and ſhewed the greateſt delight in being careſſed by its maſter. I ought alſo to obſerve that it is, when irritated, very vicious and miſchievous. They go in large herds as the other ſpecies, produce many young at a time, and their grunting is extremely loud and diſagreeable.

On the morning of the 29th, we again heard the report of ſeveral guns toward the river Cottica, where it ſince appeared the rebels were a ſecond time beaten back from

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the plantation Merſeille, by the fidelity and bravery of the ſlaves belonging to that eſtate.

On the 8th of the ſucceeding month, we received the news, that Colonel Fourgeoud, having diſcovered and deſtroyed ſome fields belonging to the enemy (who had again kept up a diſtant converſation with him) and having found the mangled remains of poor Schmidt, who had been murdered by the rebels, as I related above, was once more come with his troops to Magdenberg, where he encamped till the eleventh. He then re-entered the foreſt, previouſly ſending to the Hope the ſick, and with them a young officer under an arreſt, in order to be tried for not being able to undergo the fatigues as well as himſelf. In other words, having been ordered to watch two days and two nights, the youth had proved unequal to the taſk, and had dropt aſleep under arms, as he was ſitting on the ground. The climate indeed was ſuch that even without theſe trials nature was often overcome.

The preſervation of Fourgeoud's vigour hitherto may, in a great meaſure, be attributed to his continually drinking a medicine he called *tiſan*, in large full baſons, which had a moſt nauſeous taſte, and was compoſed of the jeſuits bark, cream of tartar, and ſtick-liquorice, boiled together, which he drank as hot as he could bear it, and to which having accuſtomed his conſtitution, he could not do without it. In this, however, he was fol-

lowed

lowed by none of the reſt, as they were apprehenſive that when this ſhould once ceaſe to operate, (which it muſt at laſt) all other medicines in time of real need would be ineffectual. As for my own part, I ſtill continued to be ſo exceedingly weak, that I almoſt deſpaired of evermore recovering; while my depreſſed ſpirits, on account of Joanna's critical and almoſt hopeleſs ſituation, greatly contributed to prevent the reſtoration of my health. Theſe alarms were not diminiſhed on the 21ſt, when, being viſited by Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens at the Hope, this gentleman told me, that the whole eſtate Fauconberg was again transferred, with its dependants, ſince the death of Mr. Paſſalage; that the new proprietor was a Mr. Lude of Amſterdam, with whom he had not the ſmalleſt intereſt; and that there was in town a general report that we had both been poiſoned. This ſentence was, however, greatly alleviated by the kindneſs of his lady, who inſiſted that my Joanna ſhould accompany her to Paramaribo immediately; where, at her own houſe, ſhe ſhould meet with every care and attention that her ſituation could require, till perfectly recovered: for this I thanked her in the beſt manner I was able, and poor Joanna wept with gratitude. Having therefore conducted them as far as their eſtate Killeſtyn-Nova, where we dined, I took my leave of them and Joanna, and bid them all an affectionate farewell for the preſent.

At my return to the Hope, my indignation was ſcarcely

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to be reſtrained within the bounds of prudence, when I found myſelf upbraided by my meſs-mates for taking care of my own offspring: "Do as we do," ſaid they, "Stedman, and never fear. If our children are ſlaves, "they are provided for; and if they die, what care we, "ſhould they be d—n'd in the bargain? Therefore keep "your ſighs in your own belly, and your money in your "pocket, my boy, that's all."—I repeat this in their own language, to ſhew how much my feeling muſt have been hurt and diſguſted with ſimilar conſolation.

The following morning, awaking by day-break in my hammock, the firſt thing that I ſaw, when looking up, was a ſnake about two yards long, hanging with its head downwards like a rope, and ſtraight above my face, from which he was not one foot diſtance, while his tail was twiſted round the rafters under the thatch. Obſerving his eyes bright as ſtars, and his forked tongue in agitation, I was ſo diſtreſſed that I ſcarcely had power to avoid him, which however I did, by running out; after which, I heard a ruſtling in the dry thatch, where the negroes attempted to kill him, but in vain, he having eſcaped, and thus I cannot ſay what ſpecies he belonged to. Being now by myſelf, and rather ſtartled by this unwelcome gueſt, I ſhut up my houſe, and lodged and meſſed with my friends the Major, Heneman, and Macdonald.

On viſiting my boxes, I now found that great depredations had been committed by the ants, which are throughout all Guiana ſo very numerous, and of ſo many different

rent ſpecies, that once I had a pair of new cotton ſtockings perfectly deſtroyed by them in one night only. Thoſe which frequent the eſtates are generally ſmall, but very troubleſome. The only way poſſibly to keep them from the refined ſugar, is by hanging the loaf to the ceiling on a nail, and making a ring of dry chalk around it, very thick, which crumbles down the moment the ants attempt to paſs it. I imagined that placing my ſugar-boxes in the middle of a tub, and on ſtone, ſurrounded with deep water, would have kept back this formidable enemy, but to no purpoſe: whole armies of the lighter ſort (to my aſtoniſhment) marched over the ſurface, and but a very few of them were drowned. The main body conſtantly ſcaled the rock, and in ſpite of all my efforts made their entry through the key-holes; after which, the only way to clear the garriſon is to expoſe it to a hot ſun, which the invaders cannot bear, and all march off in a few minutes. That the ants provide for winter, as not only Dr. Bancroft and many others, but even King Solomon, reports, is found to be an error by the moſt modern inveſtigation. In Surinam, indeed, there is no winter; but where there is, the ants lie dormant, during which torpid ſtate they want no food.

My friend Captain Van Coeverden, at this time, marching in the woods, ſuffered a much worſe depredation at Paramaribo, where not the ants, but the negro-ſlaves, had broken open his boxes, and robbed him of all his beſt effects, and near twenty guineas in money.

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On the 6th, a marine drowned himſelf, in one of thoſe phrenzy fevers which are ſo common in Guiana. About the ſame time another Society ſoldier was ſhot by order of a court-martial. Thus periſhed thoſe men who were ſpared by the climate or the enemy.

Having written to a Mr. Seifke, to enquire whether it was not in the power of the Governor and Council to relieve a gentleman's child from bondage, provided there was paid to its maſter ſuch a ranſom as their wiſdom ſhould judge adequate; I received for anſwer, that no money or intereſt could purchaſe its freedom, without the proprietor's conſent; ſince, according to law, it was juſt as much a ſlave as if it had been born in Africa, and imported from the coaſt of Guinea. This information now perfectly completed my miſery, and I at laſt had recourſe to drinking; which temporary relief, however, only cauſed my ſpirits to flow higher, in order to make them ſink lower after its evaporation. During this conflict it happened that I was invited with the Major to dine, at an eſtate called Knoppemonbo, in the Caſavinica Creek, where a Mr. De Graav, the proprietor, did every thing in his power to amuſe me, but to no purpoſe.—At laſt, ſeeing me ſeated by myſelf on a ſmall bridge that led to a grove of orange-trees, with a ſettled gloom on my countenance, he accoſted me, and taking me by the hand, to my aſtoniſhment, pronounced the following words:

"Sir, I am acquainted by Mr. Lolkens with the cauſe "of your juſt diſtreſs. Heaven never left a good inten-"tion

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"tion unrewarded. I have now the pleaſure to acquaint "you, that Mr. Lude has choſen *me* for his adminiſtra- "tor; and that from this day I ſhall pride myſelf in mak- "ing it my buſineſs to render you any ſervice with that "gentleman, as well as the virtuous Joanna, whoſe de- "ſerving character has attracted the attention of ſo many "people, while your laudable conduct redounds to your "laſting honour throughout the colony."

No angel deſcending from above could have brought me a more welcome meſſage; and no criminal under ſentence of death could have received a reprieve with greater joy. The weight of a mill-ſtone was removed from my labouring breaſt; and having made Mr. De Graav repeat his promiſe, I felt I ſhould yet be happy. Soon after this I was ſurrounded by ſeveral gentlemen and ladies, to whom my friend had communicated his generous intentions. They congratulated me on my ſenſibility, and on having met with ſo valuable an acquaintance. All ſeemed to partake in the pleaſure that I now felt; and the day being ſpent in mirth and conviviality, I returned to the Hope, much better pleaſed than when I left it, where next day the whole company was entertained by Major Medlar; nor did we ſeparate, or ceaſe feaſting up and down the river, till the 13th, when we once more ſpent the day at Knoppemonbo.

Here Mr. De Graav, having bought ſome new ſlaves, gave a holiday to all the negroes on his eſtate; and here I had the opportunity of ſeeing the diverſions peculiar

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to that people: but of theſe I muſt reſerve the particular account to another occaſion, and for the preſent only give a ſhort deſcription of the Loango dancing, as performed by the Loango negroes, male and female, and not by any others; which conſiſts from firſt to laſt in ſuch a ſcene of wanton and laſcivious geſtures, as nothing but a heated imagination and a conſtant practice could enable them to perform. Theſe dances, which are performed to the ſound of a drum, to which they ſtrike time by clapping of hands, may properly be conſidered as a kind of play or pantomime divided into ſo many acts, which laſts for ſome hours. But the moſt remarkable is, that during this repreſentation, the actors, inſtead of being fatigued, become more and more enlivened and animated, till they are bathed in ſweat like poſt-horſes, and their paſſions wound up to ſuch a degree, that nature being overcome, they are ready to drop into convulſions.

However indelicate the above exhibitions may be, faſhion has rendered them no more diſguſting than any other diverſions to the European and Creole ladies, who in company with the gentlemen croud about them without the leaſt reſerve, to enjoy what they call a hearty laugh; while ſuch ſcenes would change an Engliſh woman's face from white to ſcarlet.

That cuſtom and habit give a ſanction, and render familiar, in ſome countries, many things which would be conſidered as prepoſterous in others, is an obſervation, which is more or leſs verified, in proportion to the variety

of places which the traveller has viſited. An officer in the India ſervice has, in a late publication, deſcribed the variety of attitudes, geſtures, looks, ſighs, expreſſions of deſire, fear, hope, trepidation, and every gradation of paſſion, which is acted by the dancing-girls in the Eaſt Indies; and yet, though theſe young women are exerting all their faculties for promoting wantonneſs in the beholders, to obtain a living, the whole race of Gentoo women are moſt remarkable for the pureſt minds of any people in the univerſe *.

* Not to go ſo far eaſtward, it is notorious that nearly ſimilar to theſe dances are thoſe which we find practiſed on a part of this continent. They are called *fandangos*, and are ſaid to have been brought from Peru to Spain. As I have been favoured with a very accurate and curious deſcription of them, extracted from a collection of letters of Emanuel Martinus, dean of Alicant, I ſhall venture to inſert it as it came to my hands, ſince I doubt not but it may afford amuſement to ſome of my readers, while I hope the admiſſion of it will not be offenſive to others; it being my wiſh and deſire to pleaſe all, by bringing to light whatever might otherwiſe eſcape obſervation.

E. M. I. A. ſuo.

I nunc, et veterum morum licentiam accuſa, noſtrorum verecundiam lauda. Noſti ſaltationem illam Gaditanam, obſcœnitate ſuâ per omne ævum famoſam. At qui hodiè ipſammet per omnia hujus urbis compita, per omnia cubicula, cum incredibili aſtantium plauſu, ſaltari videas. Nec inter Æthiopas tantum et obſcuros homines, ſed inter honeſtiſſimas fœminas, ac nobili loco natas.

Saltationis modus hoc ritu peragitur. Saltant vir et fœmina vel bini vel plures. Corpora ad muſicos modos per omnia libidinum irritamenta verſantur. Membrorum molliſſimi flexus, clunium motationes, micationes femorum, ſalacium inſultuum imagines, omnia denique turgentis laſciviæ ſolertiſſimo ſtudio expreſſa ſimulacra. Videas cevere virum, et cum quodam gannitu, criſſare fœminam, eo lepore ac venuſtate, ut ineptæ profecto ac ruſticæ tibi viderentur tremulæ nates Photidos Appuleianæ. Interea omnia conſtrepunt cachinnis et ronchis. Quin ſpectatores ipſi ſatyricæ atellanæque ὀρχήσεως furore correpti, in ipſo ſimulatæ libidinis campo, leni quodam geſtu nutuque, velitantur ac fluctuant.

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On the 14th I returned to the Hope, where I ſaw my cottage unroofed by a ſtorm; but which now expecting no more to inhabit, I permitted to go to ruin—

"The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, &c. ſhall diſſolve."

Be that as it may, I had paſſed in it the happieſt days of my whole life-time.

On the 26th Colonel Fourgeoud marched once more to the Wana Creek; but having taken the troops from the Jew Savannah, the rebels availed themſelves of their abſence, and not only pillaged a plantation in the river Surinam, but burnt ſeveral dwellings in the Creek Caſavinica. From the above river they were bravely purſued by a feeble Society-detachment, which chanced to be there, but without ſucceſs; two ſoldiers were killed, and Mr. Negle their leader, with ſeveral others, wounded. The major now broke up the new poſt formed at Oranjebo, which he alſo diſpatched after the enemy; and having ranged a whole week in the foreſt, alſo returned without any manner of ſucceſs. Theſe frequent miſcarriages evince how difficult it is for European troops to carry on a war in the foreſts of South America.

The 30th of this month being the anniverſary of St. Andrew, and now finding myſelf in excellent ſpirits, I roaſted a whole ſheep, with which I entertained all the officers on the Hope, as well as with a couple of gallons of good Jamaica rum in punch, which we drank to the healths of all our friends on the old continent. This feſtivity I

 repeated

repeated on December the 4th, on receiving the tidings that my Joanna was delivered of a ſtrong and beautiful boy. That very morning I diſpatched another letter to Mr. Ludè at Amſterdam, to obtain her manumiſſion, couched much in the ſame terms as that which I had written to his predeceſſor Mr. Paſſalage, only praying for diſpatch, as I was now uncertain how much longer the expedition was to laſt; in which requeſt I was again ſeconded by my new friend Mr. De Graav, as I had been before by Mr. Lolkens; after which I entertained the ſick with a dozen of old Rheniſh, received from the former gentleman, which had been in his cellar from one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix.

Walking round the plantation the morning of the 10th with my gun, I found the whole of the ſlaves on the eſtate in a mutiny, on account of the cruel uſage inflicted by the managers: happily for all parties the interference of the military ſoon ended this matter to mutual ſatisfaction. Theſe frequent diſturbances, which I have at different times mentioned, plainly indicate the inclination of the negroes to break out in an open rebellion; and this would certainly have been more often attempted, had they not been awed by the troops. The ſame morning I brought home two birds, the one called *toreman*, the other a ſpecies of graſs-ſnipe. The *toreman*, or *banaquaw*, is a ſhining black bird, as large as a pullet, with grey legs, and a bill of a dark brown colour; it is very good eating, and eaſily diſcovered in the trees (where it

perches

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perches on the higheſt branches) by its note repeating diſtinctly the word *banaquaw*, *banaquaw*, at the approach of any perſon in the foreſt; which has alſo occaſioned the name of *toreman*, and which ſignifies, in the negro language of Surinam, a tale-bearer or a ſpy; on this account the rebels in particular have an invincible hatred againſt it.

The graſs-ſnipe is ſomething leſs than a woodcock, of a beautiful ſilver-grey colour, and in ſhape much like the ſnipes of Europe. This bird is moſtly found in the wet ſavannahs; it is very plump, and exquiſitely delicate food.

On the 11th the eſtate Rectwyk in Pirica was attacked, but the enemy was beaten back by the military.

Colonel Fourgeoud being now again arrived at Magdenberg, and I at laſt, being perfectly recovered, after ſeven months illneſs, I ventured to propoſe, by another letter to the commander, that I might accompany him on his future excurſions in the woods, or go for ſome time to Paramaribo; but neither the one or the other requeſt was yet granted. In this ſituation I wrote a letter to town, to inform my poor friend that I was well, with which I went to the river ſide to look out for a boat, and towards noon hailed the tent-barge belonging to Fauconberg, which was rowing with the overſeer to Paramaribo. This was, unfortunately, a new ſuperintendant; and not knowing me, he refuſed to come aſhore for the meſſage. However, ſeeing the negroes reſt upon

their

their oars, I took the letter in my teeth, and leaped inftantly into the river to difpatch it, knowing they would put me again on *terra-firma*. Having thus fwam with the ftream, in my fhirt and trowfers, till I came within two oar's length of the boat, I held up the letter in my hand, and called out, "Who the devil are you, that re-"fufe to take on board a piece of paper?" When, being anfwered in French, "Je fuis Jean Bearnee, payfan de "Guafcogne, à votre fervice," I had the mortification to fee them pull away without a poffibility of overtaking them, or returning. In this diftrefs I had now nothing left but to perifh, it being impoffible to fwim againft the ftream, efpecially as I was incumbered with my clothes. I ftruggled, however, but funk twice to the bottom in the attempt; and muft inevitably have been drowned, had I not caught hold of a projecting paleing that was erected in the river for the purpofe of catching fifh. To this I remained fticking faft; when a Dutch carpenter, who obferved me from the top of the fugar-mill, called out, that the Englifh captain was trying to kill himfelf. On this news a dozen ftout negroes immediately leapt into the river, and having dragged me fafe afhore (under the direction of my good friend Medlar, who was inclined to believe the report) lifted me upon their fhoulders to carry me home. The difappointment, the danger, the anger, vexation, and fhame (for there was no contradicting them) had by this time wound up my paffions to fuch a height, and made fuch an impreffion on my fpirits, that I became perfectly

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mad, and had almoſt perpetrated the act of which I was accuſed; ſince, on croſſing over a ſmall bridge, I actually gave a ſudden twiſt, and, from their ſhoulders, threw myſelf with a jerk headlong over the baluſtrades once more into the water. Here a ſecond time I was picked up by the negroes; and now the ſuſpicion being confirmed that I intended ſuicide, I was put to my hammock, with two ſentinels appointed to guard me during the night, while ſeveral of my friends were ſhedding tears around me. Having, however, drank ſome mulled wine, I enjoyed a ſound nap till morning; when appearing calm and perfectly compoſed, my words, to my great joy, began to gain credit, and the apprehenſions of my companions were diſpelled.—Such was the danger to which I was expoſed by the unkind and inhoſpitable behaviour of this Frenchman, who nearly obliterated the memory of this tranſaction by his many ſucceeding inſtances of unprecedented brutality. The following day, however, by one of my negroes and a ſmall canoe, I ſent my letter to Paramaribo. Seeing now about noon a melaſſes-boat at anchor before the Hope, in which was broiling in the ſun an Engliſh ſoldier and two negroes, I made the firſt come aſhore, and entertained the poor fellow with a bowl of punch and a good meal of eggs and bacon, to his great ſurprize, he not having expected this kindneſs, or to be accoſted in his own country language at this place. What were this man's grateful acknowledgments, whoſe name was Charles Macdonald, will be ſeen in the ſequel of my work.

A melaſſes-

A melasses-boat is a barge rowed by two oars, which fetches this commodity in large hogsheads from the sugar plantations, and delivers it on board the English-American vessels for exportation, to be distilled into rum in the islands; for which they pay the Dutch, on an average, three guineas *per* hogshead.

On the 16th another officer arrived from our hero under an arrest (the first was a Mr. Geelguin, and this was a Mr. Neys), for the crime of contending with the free negro Goasary for a bunch of plantains. Both these young men were afterwards sent to Europe by Fourgeoud, in expectation that they would be broke by a court-martial; but, after a very short confinement, they were honourably acquitted, to the joy of the whole corps, and the mortification of this hectoring Swiss. Such was the inveteracy of this old gentleman, who had not the smallest consideration for the foibles of youth; and who constantly saw the mote in the eye of his neighbour, overlooking the beam that appeared so conspicuously in his own. As I have been speaking of plantains, I shall take this occasion to give some account of a production, which, in fact, I ought to have described long before.

This is rather a plant than a tree, as the trunk has neither wood nor bark, but consists of a stamen enwrapped by green vascular husks, succeeding each other in the manner of an onion, and above ten inches in diameter. These husks rise alternately about fourteen feet distance from the ground, and form not in branches, but in leaves, that

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ſpread like an umbrella, about twelve or fourteen in number, ſo as to cover the talleſt perſon. They are of a ſhining ſea-green till they fade, and hang down in tatters, as their places are ſupplied by the young ones. From the centre of all this there grows a ſtrong ſtalk, about three feet long, and bending downwards by the weight of a purple ſpatha, ſomething like a calf's heart; and on this ſtalk grows the fruit called plantains, in the ſhape of cucumbers, and above one hundred in number, which is uſually called a bunch. Each tree, or plant, bears but one of theſe bunches at a time. When it is cut down, it is ſpeedily ſupplied by the young ſhoots, which ſpring from its bulbous root, and which in the ſpace of ten months time are ready to undergo the ſame operation. It requires a rich nouriſhing ſoil to make it proſper, without which it never arrives at proper maturity. This fruit being diveſted of its tegument when green, has in the inſide a pale yellow farinaceous ſubſtance, and ſupplies (as I have already intimated) the want of bread, when either boiled or roaſted: it has an agreeable taſte, and is very wholeſome; when the ſhell becomes yellow the inſide is ſoft, and then may be eaten raw, having much the taſte of a very ripe pear; but when arrived at that degree of maturity it is only uſed by way of deſſert.

Another ſpecies reſembling this, is the banana, which only differs from the plantain, in its fruit being leſs, and more oval, and this ſpecies is never eaten till it is yellow and fully ripe. The former is moſt uſeful in point of food;

The Plantain Tree, and the Banana.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

food; but this laſt, which has the flavour of muſk, is accounted by far the moſt delicate. For a more perfect idea, however, than I am capable of giving by deſcription, I refer the curious to the annexed plate; where *A* is the plantain-tree with its fruit; *B* the young ſhoots that ſucceed it; *C* the fruit in its green tegument; *D* the ſame, cut through the middle; and *E* the fruit called *banana*, in full maturity. In Surinam the firſt is known by the name of *banana*, and the ſecond goes by that of *bacooba*.

I now, obtaining my friend Medlar's concurrence, took a trip on the 18th to Paramaribo; where I found my boy bathing in Madeira wine and water*, while his mother was happy, and perfectly recovered. Having ſeen them well, and preſented Joanna with a gold medal, that my father had given my mother on the day of my birth, alſo thanked Mrs. Lolkens for her very great kindneſs, I immediately returned to the Hope, where I arrived on the 22d.

The poor negro whom I had ſent before me with a letter had been leſs fortunate than I was, having his canoe overſet in the middle of the river Surinam, by the roughneſs of the water. With great addreſs, however, he kept himſelf in an erect poſture (for this man could not ſwim), and by the buoyancy and reſiſtance of the boat

* This, however uncommon it may appear to an European, is often practiſed in Surinam by ſuch as can afford it; amongſt which claſs was the hoſpitable Mrs. Lolkens, who generouſly preſented Joanna with the wine.

against

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against his feet, he was enabled just to keep his head above the water, while the weight of his body kept the sunk canoe from moving. In this precarious attitude, he was picked up by a man-of-war's boat; who, taking away the canoe for their trouble, put him on shore at Paramaribo. He kept the letter, however surprising, still in his mouth, and being eager to deliver it, he accidentally ran into a wrong house; where, being taken for a thief (for refusing to let them read it), he was tied up to receive four hundred lashes; but, fortunately, was reprieved by the intercession of an English merchant of the name of Gordon, who was my particular friend, and knew the negro. Thus did the poor fellow escape drowning, and being flogged, either of which he would have undergone, sooner than disclose what he called the secrets of his *masera*.—Query, How many Europeans are possessed of equal fidelity and fortitude?

Having lately mentioned the mode of catching fish by means of a projecting paleing, it will probably not be disagreeable to the reader to have some account of it, particularly as on many different occasions it helped me to a comfortable dinner. It consists simply of a kind of square enclosure, that juts out into the river, surrounded by long palisadoes of the manicole-tree, tied very close together by *nebees*. In this fence is a large door, which is left open with the flood, and shut at high water, to prevent the enclosed fish from escaping; and by this simple contrivance the negroes and Indians frequently catch very large

quantities. Amongſt thoſe taken lately, were the *logo-logo* and *matuary*. The firſt is a ſpecies of eel, and is ſometimes two feet long, and very thick; dark blue on the back and ſides, but whitiſh on the belly: it is extremely fat, and very good eating. The other is a ſmall ſweet fiſh without ſcales; but one thing very remarkable is, that in Surinam moſt fiſhes, the moment they are out of the water, begin to make a noiſe, not unlike the grunting of a ſmall pig: and that fiſh have hearing (after many doubts and diſputes) has of late been clearly demonſtrated by the moſt able inquirers into the hiſtory of nature *.

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Having on the 23d dined at the eſtate Knoppemonbo, I will alſo mention two birds, which attracted my particular attention. The one on account of the very great peculiarity of its neſt; it is called in this country *lipee-banana*, as ſuppoſed to feed much on the ripe bananas. Whether this is the mock-bird of Dr. Bancroft, I know not, but in ſome particulars it approaches his deſcription.

Theſe birds that I ſpeak of had taken poſſeſſion of a large tree near the water-ſide, which the negroes told me they had frequented undiſturbed for many years; they were at leaſt above two hundred in number, about the ſize of Engliſh thruſhes, ſome were a ſhining black, with the tails and part of the wings of a bright crimſon; the others were alſo black, but their tails and wings of a fine yellow colour. The firſt I was informed were the

* See the account given to the Members of the Royal Society, by *John Hunter*, Eſq; F.R.S.

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males, and the latter the females of the ſame ſpecies: they indeed whiſtled a variety of notes, but neither had that melody or imitation of other ſongſters, which is ſo generally aſcribed to the mock-bird, and which, beſides, I never heard mentioned in Surinam. Theſe birds had their neſts (above threeſcore in number) fixed to the extremity of the branches, where they were dangling in the wind, reſembling egg-nets ſtuffed with hay, of which, indeed, they were built; and about the middle of them there was a ſmall hole, at which the birds enter and go out. The bottom is built wide, and perfectly round; there they lay their eggs, and hatch their young ones, while the ſpiral roof protects them from birds of prey, and from the weather. But what is of more conſequence, the monkeys, which are ſo numerous in this country, are, by ſuch a ſituation, prevented from deſtroying them, ſince the branches or twigs from which they depend, though ſtrong enough to ſupport the neſts, and what is in them, are too weak to bear the load of more weighty invaders; and, for greater ſecurity, I may add, they are moſtly built depending over water.—(*See the neſts in Plate* XLV.) The other bird which I ſhot in returning home, was the Surinam falcon or hawk. Its ſize and ſhape was like thoſe of the ſame ſpecies in England: its colour light brown, variegated on the breaſt and tail with ſpecks of red, black, and yellow; its tongue was cloven, its eyes remarkably bright, its legs a citron colour, and its talons armed with long and ſharp-pointed claws. This bird is exceed-

ingly

ingly deſtructive to the plantations, committing great ravages amongſt the poultry, &c. CHAP. XIV.

But I muſt once more return to the operations of our commander in chief, who having reſted a few days at Magdenberg, again marched, on Chriſtmas-day, with the remaining handful of his men, to the Jew Savannah, whence he returned (having ſeen nothing) back to Magdenberg, with the new title of being himſelf the wandering Jew. This did not prevent me and Major Medlar from renewing our ſolicitations to accompany him in his expeditions; but we were ſtill prevented by his going to town, where about this time a freſh ſupply of troops was hourly expected to arrive from Europe. At laſt, however, he gave me leave to follow him, with ſome other officers who were actually in want, at a time when fifteen hogſheads of fine claret, and fifteen thouſand florins in ſpecie, were waiting his commands at Paramaribo.

CHAP. XV.

Description of the Indians, Aborigines of Guiana—Their Food—Arms—Ornaments—Employments—Diversions—Passions—Religion—Marriages—Funerals, &c.—Of the Caribbee Indians in particular—Their Trade with the Europeans.

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ON the 18th of January 1774, I at last bid farewell to the Hope, of which I am convinced the reader by this time is as tired as I have been. Thence rowing down, I slept at the estate Arentlust, and next day dined at the beautiful plantation Catwyk. In this place I had nearly ended all my travels; for Mr. Goetzee, the owner, having lent me one of his horses to ride round the estate, the animal and I both at once disappeared: a wooden bridge over which we passed being rotten, the part under us gave way, and we dropped through into the canal. With much exertion however (being alone) I got ashore, and having run to call some negroes, the horse, which stuck in the mud, was (though with great difficulty) extricated.

In the evening I rowed to Paramaribo with the ebb-tide, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the mangroves that line the banks of the river Surinam full of oysters, stuck in the branches like fruit, from the water's edge up to high-water mark. These oysters attaching

themselves

themselves to trees as they do to rocks, has given rise to the vulgar error that they grow, or vegetate like fruit; but it is not more extraordinary that they should stick on any one substance than on another, for many species of shell-fish are as commonly found to adhere to ships' bottoms as to rocks. These oysters, which at some distance look like mushrooms, are, indeed, very small and trifling; for one hundred are not comparable to one dozen that come from Colchester. In Surinam are also a kind of muscles, but these are so small and insipid, that they are scarcely worthy of mention.

The day after my arrival I visited the governor: as also Mr. Kennedy, Mrs. Lolkens, Mrs. De Melley, &c. who all congratulated me on my acquaintance with Mr. De Graav, and highly honoured me, and approved of what I had done for my Mulatto and her infant.

On the 22d, our few remaining troops being mostly at Paramaribo, a Mr. Van Eys gave an entertainment to the whole corps.

On the 25th a great number of Indians, or natives, arrived at Paramaribo; which afforded me an opportunity of seeing and describing this people, who are the aborigines of the country. These Indians, who appear the happiest creatures under the sun, are divided into many casts or tribes, such as the

Caribbees,	Arrowouks,
Accawaus,	Taiiras, and
Worrows,	Piannacotaus;

 besides

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besides which, there are many others whose manners are unknown to us. All these tribes of Indians are in general of a copper-colour; while the negroes of Africa, that live under the same degree of latitude, are perfectly black. This, however inconceivable it may appear, is easily accounted for, when one considers, first, that the American Indians in Guiana are constantly refreshed by the cooling sea breeze, or easterly wind, that blows between the tropics; and that those who dwell in Terra-Firma and Peru, on the West coast, enjoy that same easterly breeze, still kept cool by the great chain of inland mountains over which it passes, and which have their summits perpetually covered with snow. While the inhabitants of Africa, south of the river Senegal, get the same east wind rather heated than cooled, by the prodigious quantity of inland, hot, sandy deserts over which it passes.

These are the most probable reasons why the Americans are of a copper-colour or red, and the inhabitants of Africa, called Negroes, are black, *viz.* the one being more burnt by the sun than the other, and not because they are two distinct races of people: since no person who examines and reflects, can avoid seeing that there is but one race of people on the earth, who differ from each other only according to the soil and the climate in which they live. I am further of opinion, that these aborigines, or Indian natives, will appear to have still less title to be called a distinct people from those of the old continent, when we consider the proximity of Russia to North America, whence

Benedetti Sculp.

Indian Family of the Carribbee Nation.

London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1792, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.

whence apparently they have emigrated, and hitherto but thinly peopled the New World, the Mexicans and a few others excepted, till they were butchered by Spanish avarice and superstition. A happy people I call them still, whose peace and genuine morals have not been contaminated with European vices; and whose errors are only the errors of ignorance, and not the rooted depravity of a pretended civilization, and a spurious and mock Christianity.

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
"Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
"His soul, proud science never taught to stray,
"Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
"Yet simple nature to his hope has giv'n,
"Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;
"Some safer world, in depth of woods embrac'd,
"Some happier island in the wat'ry waste;
"Where slaves once more their native land behold,
"No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
"To be, contents his natural desire,
"He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire;
"But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
"His faithful dog shall bear him company.
"Go, wiser thou! and, in thy scale of sense,
"Weigh thy opinion against Providence."

For my part I must say, with Socrates, that this kind of poverty is alone the truest kind of riches; as those who want least approach nearest to the gods, who want nothing.

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thing. This naturally leads me to the ſpeech of an Indian, in reply to a ſermon preached by a Swediſh miniſter at an Indian treaty, held at Coveſtogue, of which the principal ſubſtance was as follows:

"Do you then really believe, that we and our fore-"fathers are all, as you would teach us, condemned to "ſuffer eternal torments in another world, becauſe we "have not been taught your myſterious novelties? Are "we not the work of God? And can the Almighty not "manifeſt his will without the help of a book? If this is "true, and God is juſt, then how is it conſiſtent with his "juſtice to force life upon us without our conſent, and "then to condemn us all to eternal damnation, becauſe "we did not meet with you. No, Sir, we are convinced "that the Chriſtians are more depraved in their morals "than we Indians, if we may judge of their doctrines by "the general badneſs of their lives."

There cannot indeed be a more laudable undertaking, than the endeavour to engraft divine truths on the pure minds of theſe innocent people, ſo worthy of inſtruction; but I fear, and it is too obſervable, that the words of one good man will have but little effect, when the practice of the far greater number of Moravian preachers ſettled amongſt them on the banks of the Seramica rivers, where they endeavour to convert the negroes as well as the Indians, is in direct contradiction to his life and precepts.

All the Guiana Indians believe in God as the ſupreme

author

author of every good, and never inclined to do them an injury; but they worſhip the devil, whom they call *Yawaboo*, to prevent his afflicting them with evil, and to whom they aſcribe pain, diſeaſe, wounds, and death; and where an Indian dies, in order to avert future fatality, the whole family, ſoon after, leave the ſpot as a place of reſidence. CHAP. XV.

The Guiana Indians are a perfectly free people, that is, they have no diviſion of land, and are without any government, excepting that in moſt families the oldeſt acts as captain, prieſt, and phyſician, to whom they pay a reverential obedience: theſe men are called *Peii* or *Pagayers*, and, as in ſome civilized nations, live better than all others.

Polygamy is admitted among them, and ever Indian is allowed to take as many wives as he can provide for, though he generally takes but one, of whom he is extremely jealous, and whom he knocks on the head the moment he receives a decided proof of her incontinency. Theſe Indians never beat their children on any account whatever, nor give them any education, except in hunting, fiſhing, running, and ſwimming; yet they never uſe abuſive language to each other, nor ſteal; and a lye is totally unknown among them. To which I may add, that no people can be more grateful when treated with civility, of which I ſhall in future relate a remarkable inſtance: but I muſt not forget that, on the other hand, they are extremely revenge-

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ful,

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ful, eſpecially when, as they ſuppoſe, they are injured without juſt provocation.

The only vices with which to my knowledge they are acquainted, if ſuch amongſt them they may be called, are exceſſive drinking when opportunity offers, and an unaccountable indolence: an Indian's only occupation, when he is not hunting or fiſhing, being to lounge in his hammock, picking his teeth, plucking the hairs from his beard, examining his face in a bit of broken looking-glaſs, &c.

The Indians in general are a very cleanly people, bathing twice or thrice every day in the river, or the ſea. They have all thick hair, which never turns grey, and the head never becomes bald; both ſexes pluck out every veſtige of hair on their bodies, that on the head only excepted: it is of a ſhining black, which the men wear ſhort, but the women very long, hanging over the back and ſhoulders to their middle; as if they had ſtudied the ſcriptures, where it is ſaid that long hair is an ornament to a woman, but a diſgrace to a man.

The Guiana Indians are neither tall, ſtrong, nor muſcular: but they are ſtraight, active, and generally in a good ſtate of health. Their faces have no expreſſion whatever, that of a placid good-nature and content excepted; and their features are beautifully regular, with ſmall black eyes, thin lips, and very white teeth. However, all the Guiana Indians disfigure themſelves more or leſs by the uſe of arnotta or rocow; by

them

them called *cosowee*, and by the Dutch *orlean*. The seeds of the arnotta being macerated in the juice of lemon, and mixed with water, and gum that exudes from the *mawna* tree, or with the oil of castor, composes a scarlet paint, with which all the Indians anoint their bodies, and even the men their hair, which gives their skin the appearance of a boiled lobster; they also rub their naked bodies with *caraba* or crab-oil. This, it must be allowed, is extremely useful in scorching climates, where the inhabitants of both sexes go almost naked. One day, laughing at a young man who came from the neighbourhood of Cayenne, he answered me in French, saying, "My skin, sir, is kept soft, too "great perspiration is prevented, and the musquitoes do "not sting me as they do you: besides its beauty, this "is the use of my painting red. Now what is the rea-"son of your painting white?" [meaning powder in the hair] "You are, without any reason, wasting your flour, "dirtying your coat, and making yourself look grey be-"fore your time."

These Indians also make use of a deep purple blue, which they call *tapowripa*; but this is purely for ornament, and is absolutely indelible for about nine days. It is the juice of a fruit in size like a small apple that grows on the *lawna* tree, and which is bruised and macerated in water. With this these people make figures on their faces, and all over their bodies, resembling hieroglyphicks, like those that were a few years since called

 à la

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à la Grec in Europe, and are ſtill cut in coal-grates, fenders, &c. But for a more correct idea I muſt refer the reader to the annexed plate, where the children alone are not painted. So very permanently does this paint adhere to the ſkin, that one of our officers, who could not believe the fact, having by way of a frolic made a pair of enormous whiſkers with it on his face, was obliged, to our great amuſement, to parade Paramaribo with them for above a week, and wait till they gradually diſappeared.

The only dreſs worn by theſe Indians conſiſts of a ſlip of black or blue cotton worn by the men to cover their nakedneſs, and called *camiſa*; ſomething like that of the negroes. Being wound round their loins, it paſſes through between their thighs, and the ends of it, which are very long, they either throw over their ſhoulders, or negligently let them trail on the ground. For the ſame purpoſe, the women wear an apron of cotton, with party-coloured glaſs beads ſtrung upon it, which they call *queiou*. This covering is of no great ſize, being only about one foot in breadth by eight inches in length, ornamented with fringes, and faſtened round the waiſt with cotton ſtrings; but being heavy, though of no larger dimenſions, it anſwers all the purpoſes for which it was intended. Many alſo wear a girdle made of human hair round their waiſt, through which, before and behind, they faſten a ſquare broad piece of black cotton, but lighter, and without a train, like the camiſa of the men: both ſexes wearing theſe belts or girdles ſo low, that they

almoſt

almost slide down over their buttocks, and make their bodies appear wonderfully long. CHAP. XV.

In the inland parts, many Indians of both sexes go quite naked, without any covering whatever. The Indian women also, by way of ornament, often cut small holes in their ears and their lips, in the first of which they wear corks or small pieces of light wood, and through their lips they stick thorns, and sometimes all the pins they can lay hold of, with the heads inside against the gums, and the points like a beard dangling down upon their chins. Some wear feathers through their cheeks and through their noses, though this is but seldom. But the most unaccountable ornament in my opinion is, that the girls at ten or twelve years old work a kind of cotton garter round their ankles, and the same below the knee; which being very tight, and remaining for ever, occasions their calves to swell to an enormous size by the time they are grown women, and gives their limbs a very odd and unnatural appearance. They also wear girdles, bands, and bracelets, of various coloured beads, shells, and fish-teeth, about their necks, across their shoulders, or round their arms, but generally above the elbow. Upon the whole, the Indian women, naturally disagreeable in their shapes, with their toes turned inwards, are still less attractive by their ornaments. But from this general description I must exempt one cast in particular, called *Arrowouks*, whom I shall describe in their proper place.

 The

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL

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The ornaments of the men confift of crowns of various coloured feathers, or a fafh of boars or tygers teeth acrofs one fhoulder, as a token of their valour and activity. The chiefs of families fometimes wear the fkin of a tyger, and a filver plate refembling a croiffant, called by them a *caracoly*; they alfo frequently have fmall oval bits of filver in the cartilaginous feparation of their nofes, and fometimes a green or yellow coloured ftone. All thefe nations live in the foreft, near rivers, and along the fea-coaft, where they are fcattered in fmall villages or hamlets. Their houfes or wigwams, which they call *carbets*, are built as I have already defcribed thofe of the negroes; but inftead of being covered with the leaves of the manicole-tree, they are covered with the leaves of rattans or jointed canes, here called *tas*, which grow in clufters in all marfhy places: but they moftly ufe *troolies*, which are leaves that diverge immediately from the root, and are no lefs than twenty or twenty-four feet in length, and from two to three in breadth, and this will for years effectually exclude all inclemencies of weather.

Their furniture is very fimple, but fufficient for their wants, confifting of a few black earthen pots of their own making; a few callebafhes or gourds; a few bafkets, called *pagala*; a ftone to grind, called *matta*, and another to bake their caffava bread; a fan to blow the fire; a wooden ftool or *mulee*; a fieve they call *manary*; a prefs to fqueeze the wet caffava, called *matappy*; and a cotton hammock or net for them to fleep in.

Befides

Besides these, since their intercourse with the Europeans, many of them are furnished with a hatchet and a knife, which last, like a dagger, the Indians always wear by their side. But I must not forget that every Indian family is provided with a large boat or canoe to carry all that they possess when they travel by water, which is not unfrequent. CHAP. XV.

The only vegetables cultivated by these people are the yams, plantains, and bananas, already described, and particularly *cassava* and *manioc*. This last is a shrub, which grows about three feet high, of a grey colour, and knotted; the leaves are digitated and large, and supported by cinnamon-coloured foot-stalks. Of this shrub there are two species, distinguished by the appellation of the sweet and the bitter cassava, of which the roots alone are for use. These are soft and farinaceous; and in colour, size, and shape, much resemble European parsnips. The sweet cassava, roasted in hot ashes, like the green plantains, and eaten with butter, is an agreeable and healthy food, tasting much like the chesnut. But the bitter cassava, which when raw is the most fatal poison both to man and beast, is (however strange it may seem) when prepared by fire, not only a very safe food, but the most natural bread of the Indians in this country, as well as of several Europeans and negroes. The manner in which the Indians prepare it is first by grinding or grating these roots on the matta or rough stone: after

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after which they put it in a prefs, to feparate the juice from the meal. This prefs is a kind of long tube, made of *warimbo* or reeds; which being hung to a tree, and filled with ground caffava, a heavy ftone or log of wood is fixed to the bottom, the weight of which gradually lengthens the tube, which is compreffed in proportion, and the liquid fubftance is fqueezed through the plated reeds. This done, the meal is baked on a hot ftone in thin round cakes, until it becomes brown and crifp, and then it is a wholefome food, that will keep good for half a year; yet I muft acknowledge that the tafte, which by that procefs becomes fweetifh, is at the fame time extremely infipid. The extracted water of this root, if not carefully prevented by the flaves, is fometimes drunk by cattle and poultry on the eftates, whom it inftantly kills with convulfive tortures and fwelling; yet this very liquid, if boiled with pepper, butcher's meat, &c. is frequently made ufe of for foup. None fhould ufe the caffava root for food but fuch as are perfectly acquainted with it: many people having been poifoned, to my knowledge, by ufing the one fpecies for the other; the diftinction between the two confifting chiefly in a tough ligneous fibre or cord running through the heart of the fweet or innocent caffava root, which the fatal or bitter has not. The *acajou* nuts are alfo ufed by the Indians; and they often bring them to Paramaribo, where they are called *inginotto*. The kernels of thefe nuts are in fize and fhape very like

lamb's

lambs kidneys, and are exceedingly delicate. They grow very far inland upon high trees, which having never ſeen, I cannot deſcribe.

The other food of the Indian conſiſts of ſea and land turtle, and crabs, called *ſeereeca*, which laſt are ſeen in great quantities in the mud all along the coaſt of Guiana at low water. Of theſe they are extremely fond, as alſo of the river lobſters called *ſaraſara*, which are here in great abundance. But nothing pleaſes them ſo much as the *iguana* or *wayamacca* lizards, that I have already deſcribed: every thing they eat is ſo highly ſeaſoned with Cayenne pepper, that the mere taſting of their food excoriates the mouth of an European. They uſe little or no ſalt, but barbacue their game and fiſh in the ſmoke, which equally preſerves it from putrefaction; and if an Indian has neglected to provide food by hunting or fiſhing, his hunger is aſſwaged by eating the ſeeds of the *green-heart* or the *eta* tree, or of ſimilar productions of the foreſt.

Their drink conſiſts of various fluids, ſuch as the juice of the *coumoo* fruit. The *coumoo* tree is one of the ſmalleſt of the palm kind. Its ſeed grows in bunches of purple blue berries, reſembling grapes, the pulp of which thinly adheres to a round hard ſtone, about the ſize of a piſtol bullet. Theſe berries are diſſolved and macerated in boiling water; which beverage, when mixed with ſugar and cinnamon, is frequently uſed by the fair inhabitants: it taſtes very much like cho-

3 colate.

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colate. A drink they call *piworree* is a compoſition of the caſſava bread, chewed by the females, and fermented with water, when it has ſomething of the taſte of ale, and will intoxicate. It appears at firſt very extraordinary, that what has been within the teeth, mixed with the ſaliva, and ſpit from the mouths of others, ſhould be drank without loathing by the people of any country: but thoſe who have read Cook's Voyages will find that this practice was ſo common in the iſlands he diſcovered, that had he not complied with it, his refuſal might have fatally offended the inhabitants. His officers, indeed, did not think it ſo neceſſary for them to comply, and therefore excuſed themſelves from the diſguſting draught. A beverage nearly of the ſame kind they compoſe from the maize, or Indian corn, which is firſt ground and baked into bread, after which it is crumbled and macerated with water till it ferments like the former, and this they call *chiacoar*. Another drink called *caſſiree* is alſo much uſed by theſe Indians, being a compoſition of yams, caſſava, ſour oranges, and ſugar or treacle, well macerated, and fermented with water. I ſhall only add, that all theſe beverages are inebriating, if uſed beyond moderation, which is frequently the caſe with both males and females among the copper-coloured generation I am ſpeaking of. This is the only time when they are unruly, and when quarrels ariſe among themſelves.

In pronunciation the language of the Indians in general much reſembles the Italian, their words being ſonorous

and

and harmonious, moſtly terminating with a vowel, as may be obſerved by the few ſpecimens above. They have no calculation of time, a ſtring with ſome knots being the only calendar they are acquainted with. Their muſical inſtruments conſiſt of a kind of flute called *too-too*, and made of a ſingle piece of thick reed, on which they make a ſound no better than the lowing of an ox, without either meaſure or variety.—Another inſtrument is alſo uſed by them to blow upon, called *quarta* (by Ovid a *ſirinx*; by ſome poets *Pan's chaunter)* and conſiſts of reeds of different lengths, that are joined together like the pipes of an organ, but even at the top, which they hold with both hands to the lips, and which, by ſhifting from ſide to ſide, produces a warbling of clear but diſcordant ſounds, agreeable to none but themſelves; nor have I ſeen a better repreſentation of the god Pan playing on his chaunter, than a naked Indian among the verdant foliage playing upon one of thoſe reedy pipes. They alſo make flutes of the bones of their enemies, of which I have one now in my poſſeſſion. Their dancing, if ſuch it may be called, conſiſts in ſtamping on the ground, balancing on one foot, and ſtaggering round in different attitudes for many hours, as if intoxicated.

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The Indians are a very ſociable people among themſelves, and frequently meet together in a large wigwam or carbet that is in every hamlet for the purpoſe, where, if they do not play or dance, they amuſe each other with fictitious ſtories, generally concerning ghoſts, witches,

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or dreams, during which they frequently burſt out into immoderate fits of laughter. They greatly delight in bathing, which they do twice at leaſt every day, men, women, boys, and girls, promiſcuouſly together. They are all excellent ſwimmers without exception. Among theſe parties not the ſmalleſt indecency is committed, in either words or actions.

The employments of the men are, as I have ſtated, but very few, and, indeed, may be comprized in two words, hunting and fiſhing: at both of theſe exerciſes they are indiſputably more expert than any other nation whatever. For the firſt they are provided with bows and arrows of their own manufacturing, the arrows being of different kinds for different purpoſes. The Indian bows are all made of the hardeſt and tougheſt kind of wood, about five or ſix feet in length, and wonderfully well poliſhed; and this is effected by means of a ſtone. In the middle they are wound round with cotton, and ſtrung with chords made of ſilk-graſs. The arrows are generally about four feet long, made of a very ſtraight and ſtrong kind of reed, to the end of which is fixed a thin twig about one foot long, to balance them; this is armed with a point made of ſteel or of fiſh-bone, generally barbed. Some of the Indian arrows are pointed like a lance, others are doubly and trebly barbed, and ſo contrived as to ſtick in the wound when the reedy part is pulled back. Theſe are uſed moſtly for game and fiſh; for though they be not mortal,

they

they encumber the firſt, and being buoyant bring the latter to the ſurface, till both are taken. Theſe arrows, like all others, are ſtuck with feathers ſix or ſeven inches long. Some arrows have blunted heads inſtead of points, about the ſize of a large cheſnut, like what our anceſtors called bols; with theſe they do not kill, but ſtun the macaws, parrots, and ſmall monkeys, ſo that they can take them with their hands, ſoon after which they recover, and are ſent alive to Paramaribo. Some of the arrows for killing fiſh have the appearance of a trident, three and ſometimes five barbed ſticks being fixed to the reed inſtead of one, which enables them to ſhoot fiſh even at random. A few of the above arrows are frequently dipped in the *woorara* poiſon*, which is inſtantaneouſly fatal: but when intent on certain deſtruction, this people make uſe of another kind of arrow that is not above ten or twelve inches long, extremely thin, and made of the hard ſplinters of the palm-tree bark, having, inſtead of feathers, one end wound round with a tuft of raw cotton, ſo as to fill up a hollow tube made of reed near ſix feet in length, through which they blow them with their breath. Theſe little implements of death will carry to the diſtance of forty paces, and with ſo much certainty, that the intended

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* The bark of a tree ſo called, mixed with others; but for a very particular deſcription of this acute poiſon, *viz.* of its compoſition, and of its dire effects, I refer the reader to Dr. Bancroft, and the repeated experiments which that gentleman has made to aſcertain its inſtant fatality.

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victims never escape, the points being dipped in the *woorara* poison. As an instance of the dreadful effects of this poison, I shall only mention a negro woman, who, during the late rebellion in Berbicè, being slightly wounded by a poisoned arrow, not only almost instantly expired, but her sucking infant, though not touched by the arrow, lost its life by tasting her milk.

Their manner of catching fish is much the same as I have described at the Hope, by inclosing the entry of small creeks or shoal water with a paleing, shooting them with their trident arrows, or poisoning the water by throwing in it the roots of *biaree**, in Surinam called *tringee-woodo* or *konamee*, by which the fish become stupified, and are taken by the hand, while they float on the surface of the water; as boys in England, who by mixing the *Coculus Indicus*, or drugs of similar effect, with baits which the fish will take, find them soon after rise to the surface, whence, if they are not speedily taken, they will recover and escape, the drugs only stupifying them for a while. These are the only occupations of the men, except making their furniture, ornaments, and arms.

I must not forget that every Indian carries a club, which they call *apootoo*, for their defence. These clubs are made of the heaviest wood in the forest; they are

* This tree is much sought after by the Indians, who send quantities of it to Paramaribo and the plantations.

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about eighteen inches long, flat at both ends, and ſquare, but heavier at the one end than the other. In the middle they are thinner, and are wound about with ſtrong cotton threads, ſo as to be graſped, having a loop to ſecure them round the wriſt, as the ſword-taſſels are uſed by ſome cavalry. One blow with this club, in which is frequently fixed a ſharp ſtone, ſcatters the rains. They are uſed by the Guiana Indians like the omahawk by the Cherokees, on which, beſides other ieroglyphical figures, they often carve the number of erſons they have ſlain in battle. The manner of fixing ne ſtone in the club or apootoo is by ſticking it in the ee while it is yet growing, where it ſoon becomes ſo ſt that it cannot be forced out; after which the wood cut, and ſhaped according to fancy.

The women are occupied in planting caſſava, planins, and other roots, beſides yams, &c. in dreſſing e victuals, and in making earthen pots, bracelets, ſkets, or cotton hammocks. Their beſt baſkets are led *pagala*, and are formed of a double matting of ſhes called *warimbo*, ſome white, ſome brown, beeen which is a ſeparation of *tas*, or trooly-leaves, keep out the wet. The covering is uſually larger l deeper than the baſket itſelf, which it altogether velopes; and thus makes it ſtronger; the whole reſton two croſs pieces of wood fixed to the bottom. eir hammocks are woven, which muſt require a ſiderable portion of time and trouble, being done

thread

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thread after thread, traverſing the warp in the manner that a hole is darned in a ſtocking; after which they are ſtained with the juices of trees according to fancy.

The Indian girls arrive at the time of puberty before twelve years old, indeed commonly much ſooner, at which time they are married. The ceremony conſiſts ſimply in the young man's offering a quantity of game and fiſh of his own catching, which, if ſhe accepts, he next propoſes the queſtion, "Will you be my wife?" If ſhe anſwers in the affirmative, the matter is ſettled, and the nuptials celebrated in a drunken feaſt, when a houſe and furniture is provided for the young couple. Their women are delivered without any aſſiſtance, and with ſo little inconvenience or ſuffering, that they ſeem exempt from the curſe of Eve. They go about the menial ſervices for their huſbands the day after their delivery; then, however ridiculous and incredible it may appear, it is an abſolute fact, that every one of theſe gentlemen lie in their hammocks for above a month, groaning and grunting as if they had been themſelves in labour, during which time all the women muſt attend them with extraordinary care and the beſt food. This the Indian calls enjoying himſelf, and reſting from his labour. Moſt of theſe people eſteeming a flat forehead a mark of beauty, they compreſs the heads of their children, it is ſaid, immediately after their birth, like the Chactaws of North America.

No Indian wife eats with her huſband, but ſerves him

as

as a slave: for this reason they can take but very little care of their infants, which, nevertheless, are always healthy and undeformed. When they travel, they carry them in small hammocks, slung over one shoulder, in which sits the child, having one leg before and the other behind the mother. For an emetic they use the juice of tobacco, which they seldom smoke.

When the Indians are dying, either from sickness or old age, the latter of which is most frequently the cause, the devil or *Yawaboo* is at midnight exorcised by the *peii* or priest, by means of rattling a calibash filled with small stones, peas, and beads, accompanied by a long speech. This office is hereditary, and by these pretended divines no animal food, as I have before said, is publicly tasted, and yet on the whole they live better than all the others. When an Indian is dead, being first washed and anointed, he is buried naked, in a new cotton bag, in a sitting attitude, his head resting on the palms of his hands, his elbows on his knees, and all his implements of war and hunting by his side; during which time his relations and neighbours rend the air by their dismal lamentations; but soon after, by a general drunken riot, they drown their sorrows till the following year. This practice, by the way, bears some affinity to Dr. Smollet's description of a burial in the Highlands of Scotland. At the expiration of the year, the body, being rotten, is dug up, and the bones distributed to all the friends and acquaintance, during which ceremony the former rites

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are repeated for the laſt time, and the whole neighbourhood look out for another ſettlement. Some tribes of Indians, having put their deceaſed friends in the above poſture, place them naked for a few days under water, where the bones being picked clean by the *piree* and other fiſh, the ſkeleton is dried in the ſun, and hung up to the ceiling of their houſes or wigwams; and this is done as the ſtrongeſt inſtance of their great regard for their departed friend.

When theſe Indians travel by land, their canoe, which is made of a large tree hollowed by means of fire, is always carried along with them to tranſport their luggage acroſs ſwamps, creeks, and rivers; it is, like themſelves, all over beſmeared with arnotta. If they travel in the rivers, they generally paddle againſt the tide, to have a better opportunity of ſhooting ſuch game as they ſee in the trees or on the banks; whereas, if they went with the current, the rapidity of the ſtream would often make them run paſt it. When travelling on the coaſt, it frequently happens that theſe canoes ſhip a ſea which fills them, but no ſuch thing as a ſhipwreck is heard of: both ſexes immediately leaping over-board; then with one hand they hang by the canoe, with the other, and by means of calibaſhes, they throw out the water.

Notwithſtanding the Guiana Indians are upon the whole a peaceable people, they ſometimes go to war among themſelves, purely for the ſake of capturing priſoners, to which they are too much encouraged by the

Chriſtians, who receive them in exchange for other commodities, and make them ſlaves, which is too frequently practiſed. But theſe kind of ſlaves are only for ſhew and parade, as they abſolutely refuſe to work, and if at all ill-treated, or eſpecially if beaten, they pine and languiſh like caged turtles, even refuſing food, till by affliction and want they are exhauſted, and finally expire.

The Indians always fight their battles by midnight: indeed their conteſts reſemble more a ſiege than a battle, as theſe broils conſiſt only in ſurrounding the hamlets of their enemies while they are aſleep, making priſoners of the women, boys, and girls, while they ſhoot the men with poiſoned arrows, or with their clubs or apootoos divide their ſculls when they come to cloſe quarters; they alſo ſcalp their male priſoners, bring home their hair, and even their bones, as trophies of war, and preſents to their wives, unleſs they intend to ſell them to the Europeans at Paramaribo. In their open rencounters, which happen very ſeldom, the bows and barbed arrows are their principal weapons of offence; with theſe they often kill at the diſtance of ſixty paces; nay, the ſwifteſt bird in its flight, provided it has the magnitude of a crow, ſeldom eſcapes them. In truth, ſuch is the ſkill of theſe people at theſe manly exerciſes, that the beſt archers at Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, muſt have yielded to their ſuperiority.

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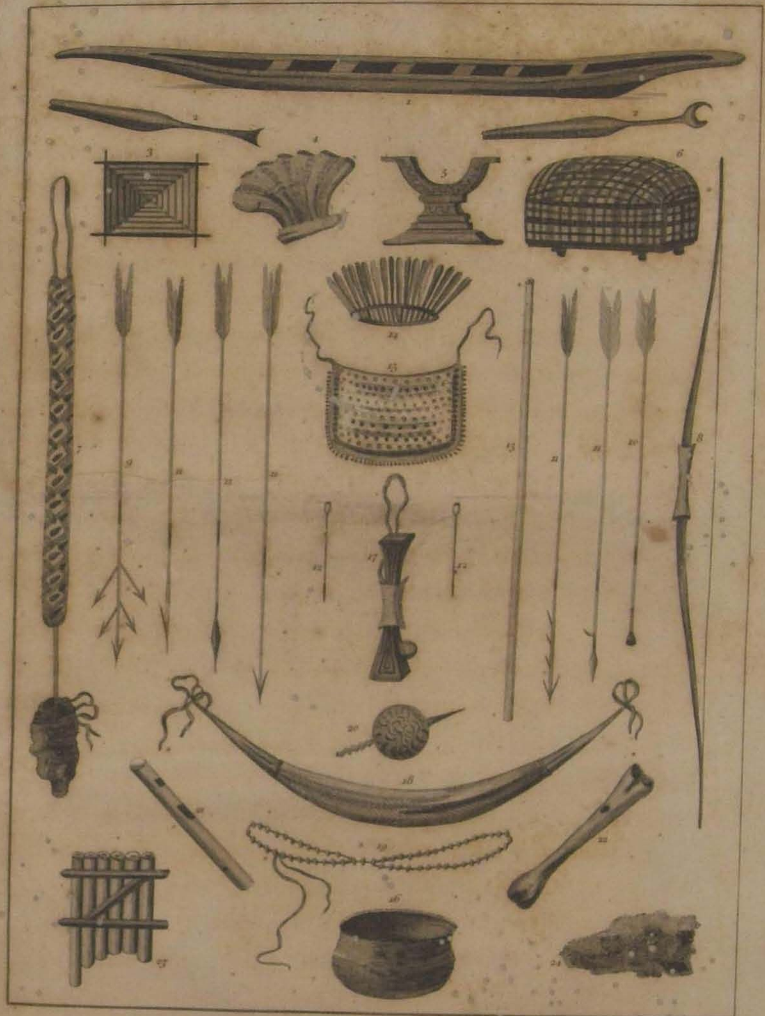
Now with full force the yielding bow he bends,
Drawn to an arch, and joins the doubling ends;
Close to his breast he strains the nerve below,
'Till the barb'd point approach the circling bow.
Th' impatient weapon whizzes on the wing,
Sounds the tough bow, and twangs the quivering string.

POPE's Homer.

I shall only add farther on this subject, that when these Indians go to war they chuse one general commander, whom they distinguish by the title of *Uill*.

The trade or traffic which the Indians of Guiana carry on with the Dutch consists chiefly in slaves, earthen jars, canoes, hammocks, baskets, Brazil-wood, hiaree-roots, macaws, parrots, monkeys, balsam capivi, arracocerra, caraba or crab oil, and arnotta, for which they receive in return checquered cloth, fire-arms, gun-powder, hatchets, knives, scissars, different coloured beads, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, combs, needles, pins, &c. The *balsam capivi* exudes from the bark of a thick tree that grows far inland, with large pointed leaves, bearing a fruit like a cucumber. This gum is yellow, hard, and transparent, resembling amber; when melted, it has an agreeable smell: its uses are for varnish, and to stop diuretic complaints, &c. The gum called *arracocerra* exudes from an inland tree also; it is yellow as the former, but tenacious and soft; it has a most fragrant smell, and is held in great esteem by the Europeans as well as Indians,



Arms, Ornaments & Furniture of the Indians.

London, Published Dec.r 1st 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard.
4°

dians, on account of its efficacy in curing wounds, and many other complaints. The *caraba* or crab oil is made by bruifing, macerating, and boiling the kernels that grow on the crab-tree in brown angular nuts, much about the fize of a large chefnut; this oil, which is bitter, befides anointing the Indians, is ufed for many purpofes by the Europeans. The tree grows to near fifty feet high, with leaves refembling thofe of the laurel; but as I neither have feen this nor the two former growing, to my knowledge, I can fay nothing more concerning them. The *mawna tree* is high, ftraight, and light brown coloured; its leaves are oval; its nuts refembling nutmegs, but without either tafte or flavour. The gum exuding from its trunk by incifions in the bark is diffolved by the Indians in water, and, as I have faid, mixed with arnotta to anoint them. The caftor or *palma-chrifti* bufh, by botanifts called the *ricinus*, is a fhrub about four feet high, jointed, being covered with large digitated leaves on long foot-ftalks, *viz.* both the ftem and the branches. This fhrub confifts of the red and the white, and produces triangular nuts inclofed in a green hufk, which, when ripe, turns to brown, and falls off. From thefe nuts is expreffed the caftor oil; in Surinam it is called *carrapat oil*; it is very like that made of olives, and, as I have mentioned before, is much ufed by the Indians to paint themfelves with.

Among all the Indian nations, the *Caribs* are the moft numerous, active, and brave. Thefe refide in great num-

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bers near the Spanish settlements, which they often harass, in immortal revenge for the inhuman cruelties inflicted on their forefathers at Mexico and Peru. They are commanded by a captain, and assemble by the blowing of a conch or sea-shell; they have also frequent battles with neighbouring Indians; but what disgraces them above all others in Terra Firma is, that however unnatural it may seem, and however much it has been contradicted, they are anthropophagi or cannibals; at least they most certainly feast on their enemies, whose flesh they tear and devour with the avidity of wolves, though this is generally supposed to be more from a spirit of revenge than from any depravity in their taste.

The *Accawaw* Indians are few in number, and live farther distant from the sea than the former. Though like these they live in friendship with the Dutch, they are both treacherous in administering slow poison concealed under their nails, and very distrustful, as they palisade the ground round their hamlets with poisoned spikes.

The *Worrow* Indians, if not the most cruel, are the most despicable of any in Guiana. These are settled along the coast from the river Oronoque to Surinam; they are dark-coloured and extremely ugly; though strong they are pusillanimous, and withal so very lazy and indolent, that their poverty will scarcely afford them a covering to hide their nakedness, which they often supply by the web-like bark of the palm-tree. They often go quite naked, and are stinkingly dirty; from

their

their ſluggiſh inactivity they are reduced to live moſtly upon crabs and water. If it ſhould ſeem ſtrange to have called theſe people happy, let it be recollected that their wiſhes are confined to their enjoyments, and that no Indian was ever heard to complain that he was unhappy.

The *Taiiras* are ſettled alſo on the ſea-coaſt between Surinam and the river Amazon. Theſe are exceedingly numerous, being computed, in this ſettlement alone, to amount to near twenty thouſand: they are a very peaceable but indolent people, and in many particulars reſemble the *Worrows*.

The *Piannacotaus* live very far inland, and are enemies to the Europeans, with whom they refuſe all connection or dealings whatever: of this tribe the only thing that I can ſay farther is, that they would murder all the Chriſtians in Guiana, if they had an opportunity.

The only Indian nation within my knowledge now remaining to be mentioned are the *Arrowouks*, my favourites; — but as this Chapter is already ſwelled to a conſiderable length, I muſt defer them to another opportunity.——Thus for the preſent do I take my leave of this happy people, who with the diſtinctions of rank or land (the cauſes of contention in more enlightened ſtates) are unacquainted; who know no evil but pain and want, with which they are very ſeldom afflicted in this ever-verdant, this ever-blooming climate; who, while their wiſhes are ſo very limited, poſſeſs

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poffefs all that they defire in this world: and who, while they expect a future ftate, never give their minds the fmalleft uneafinefs, but die in peace; nay, who feldom think upon to-morrow. But while I allow them this fpecies of negative happinefs, let it not be underftood that to the contented European I have held up their condition as an object of envy.

For a better idea of their furniture, ornaments, and arms, I refer the curious to the annexed plate, where

N° 1. is an Indian coriala or canoe, which is generally made of one tree.
2. Paddles in place of oars.
3. A fieve called *manary*.
4. An Indian fan, or *way-way*.
5. A ftool called *mulee*.
6. A pagala or bafket.
7. A *matappy* or caffava prefs.
8. An Indian bow.
9. Arrows for fhooting fifh.
10. A blunted arrow for birds.
11. Common arrows barbed.
12. Small poifoned arrows.
13. The pipe or tube to blow them.
14. A crown of various feathers.
15. An apron called *queiou*.
16. An Indian earthen pot.
17. An *apootoo* or Indian club.

N° 18.

N° 18. An Indian cotton hammock.
19. A ſaſh of tigers or wild boars teeth.
20. A magic ſhell or gourd.
21. An Indian flute called *too-too*.
22. A flute made of the human bone of an enemy.
23. An Indian flute or ſyrinx called *quarta*.
24. A ſtone to grind caſſava, called *matta*.

For a fuller botanical deſcription than either my knowledge or my limits will allow, I refer the reader to the ingenious Dr. Bancroft, whoſe merit in this particular is perhaps known by few, but who claims every attention from having lived ſo long in Demerary; and to whom the thanks of the world in general are due, for his ingenious "Letters to Dr. Pitcairn, F.R.C.P. &c." publiſhed in 1766.

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